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ESSAYS OF TO-DAY:

Religious and Theological.

BY

WM. WILBERFORCE NEWTON,

RECTOR OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, BOSTON.

"Credo ut intelligam." — ANSELM.

"Non credendum nisi prius intellectum." — ABELARD.



BOSTON:

A WILLIAMS & CO.

1879.

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P R E F A C E.

“I CONFESS to a fondness for books of this kind [essays]. In the first place, we can throw down the volume after a score of pages ; begin at the end or in the middle : we can treat it like a newspaper. In the second place, it is miscellaneous ; in turning over a page we pass from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century, from England to India : this diversity surprises and pleases. Lastly, involuntarily the author is indiscreet ; he displays himself to us : it is a familiar conversation.”

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ESSAYS OF TO-DAY.

I.

THE LIMITS OF ENTHUSIASM.

IT is a saying of the Duke of Argyll, that "it seems almost a law, that no utterance of original genius can long escape the fate of being travestied and turned to nonsense by those who take it up second-hand."

Within the human mind there are manifold tendencies to distort and darken that which is in itself originally pure and simple. The moods and vagaries, the prejudices and customs, the play of temperament, and the innate seeds of charlatanism, found in human nature, alike combine to weaken, falsify, and satirize those very qualities and graces which in themselves are so praiseworthy and real. In historic movements and in human characters, elements of strength, and capacities for the achievement of great results, are at times unexpectedly flawed by the appearance of hidden and unforeseen agencies, which come to the light for criticism, in the form of an over-development or an abnormal development of the inner working principles. It is the demon of excess which in so many cases causes all this trouble. It turns wisdom into foolishness, liberty into

license, human love into animal passion, earnest struggle into riot, and the noblest form of high enthusiasm into the mob-rule whimsicalities of fanaticism. It is concerning this latter phase of perverted power I wish to speak in this paper, which I have called the Limits of Enthusiasm.

"Even our failures are a prophecy;
Even our yearnings . . .
After that fair and true we cannot grasp."

This wildness of enthusiasm, this frenzied fanaticism in human nature, shows itself in every race at critical epochs in the history of the race, and at notable turning-points in the history of nations. We see it in the civil wars of Israel's disputed monarchy, and in the internal strifes which hurried on the destruction of Jerusalem; in the civil dissensions of Rome, with those mooted questions of political economy whose dire threatenings have settled down to be the chronic curse of all later governments; in the class-warfare of Italy at the period of the *Rénaissance*; in the sheet-lightning glare of Socialism as it flashed over the face of Europe in 1848; in the Reign of Terror in France at the period of the Revolution; and conspicuously in the religious development of Germany and England in the events which followed the Reformation.

There is to every deeply earnest movement, and especially to every religious movement, which contains the two-fold element of sacredness and power, a secret or exalted meaning concealed within it, to which it can never succeed in giving complete expression or utterance.

There is an inner, dim, mysterious shrine — a vague, indefinite, holy place — in every hagiocracy, into which the

stranger entereth not, and with which the devotee is likewise strangely unfamiliar. There may be definiteness enough among the outer bulwarks of the enthusiasm ; but the inner citadel is a visionary apocalyptical tower, reaching up, in some vague way, among the clouds to heaven.

One cannot read the Evangelists, and see how continually our Lord was coming into contact with this peculiar spirit of the Jewish hierarchy, without discovering the unmistakable signs of the strength and the weakness of their natural and ecclesiastical enthusiasm.

It is this theocratic enthusiasm, and its lawful limits, which is our present subject. Whether this spirit shows itself in the call of the Jewish prophet, or the rage of the later zealot ; whether the theocratic idea centres itself in the corporate Sanhedrim of the Jews, or the councils of the Christian Church, or the autocratic infallibility of the Papacy of to-day ; whether the line of communication between heaven and earth is manifested by the visions of Savonarola, the revelations of Swedenborg, the illumination of Irving, or by that unconscious belief in the reality of their discoveries which marked the characters of Mahomet in Arabia, and Joseph Smith, the founder of American Mahometanism in our own time, — the ruling idea in all these cases is the same. *It is a human monopoly of divine power* ; it is the daimonian pythoiness, the spirit of divination of the apostolic story, always bringing its master the ready gain. It is the intoxication of human nature, staggering under too heavy a load of inspiration, reeling to and fro under this excess of stimulus, and finally losing the balance and falling into the utter destruction of license.

These veiled prophets stand in their disputed niches all along the pathway of the world's history, and each succeeding age pulls at the veil to discover the secret of the draped face. And when the extremes of enthusiasm meet — as happens to-day — with faith colleges and faith cures, from the miraculous side of Protestantism, and the miraculous cures of Lourdes and Notre Dame de La Salette, and other pilgrim shrines in France, from the side of Romanism, — we are thrown back upon the first principle with which we started out: that this enthusiasm is an element common to us all, and that its excess, on its religious side, depends in an almost mathematical proportion upon the pressure of the inspiration upon a nature constitutionally and temperamentally ballasted or unballasted.

Now, every man who has to deal with masses of men recognizes this fiery element in human nature, — this sympathetic contagion, — this epidemic of the momentary passionate likemindedness. This demonizing power, appealing to the charlatan element which lies hidden in every one of us, is the secret cause of many a riotous outburst, and many an open war. It is an inspiration which possesses almost the properties of an electric fluid; it is in the very air; it is stored up in human batteries which are surcharged with it, as gases are packed away in a retort. The subtle influence of the Marseillaise Hymn, or "The Watch on the Rhine," shows us the lyric power of lofty music and lofty sentiment combined; and reproduces, in veritable history, the fabled wonders Timotheus wrought in Dryden's ode: —

“The princes applaud with a furious joy,
And the king seized a flambeau with zeal to destroy ;
Thaïs led the way
To light him to his prey,
And, like another Helen, fired another Troy.”

There are times when human nature does not seem able to bear its passions, — when it gives way under the pressure of its inspirations ; and it is on these occasions that we are able to mark out clearly the limits of enthusiasm, drawing for ourselves the line between that which is a trained power leading upwards, and that which is an unlicensed frenzy dragging every thing allied to it downwards.

At the period of the Reformation, when the stagnation of mental custom was broken up by unforeseen issues, — when past guiding habits of thought and of life were unexpectedly changed for new and unfamiliar ones, — men found themselves suddenly unyoked from the balancing shafts and harness of tradition and custom, and were left free to develop their own right of private judgment to the highest possible terms.

The many fanatics and ultraists of this Reformation period, with their wild and visionary views, show us the difficulties the reformers had to encounter in separating from the old religious condition, and in establishing with line and plummet the boundary lines of the new era.

As it happened that only at intervals any of the reformers recognized the right of all men to liberty of conscience, the maxim was gradually hardened out into use, that errorists from their ranks should be silenced in the way in which they themselves had been condemned, and

that obstinate heretics should be imprisoned or sent out of the country.

In Germany, the hard times of that terrible strife known as the Peasants' War brought out to the light that most fearful of all inspirations, — the impulse of Recklessness ; and the Münster monarchy stands out to the light as a high-water line, marking off the limits of a lawful high-tide enthusiasm, from the wild and pitiless upheaval of a fanatical cyclone. Think for a moment of this scene in history ; and remember that it was an inspiration which, at the time, did not seem to those who engaged in it an exaggeration. Germany was filled with these broken auroral lights, — reflecting, in that northern country, with their fantastic shapes and patterns, the romanticism in religion and the individualism in politics then so commonly accepted on every hand. The Anti-trinitarians, who carried Luther's right of private judgment a step beyond Luther, shared the persecutions of the age. Hitzer, a learned friend of Zwinglius and a popular poet, was beheaded at Constance for his assertion of the unity of God. Servetus, by a double burning, — in effigy by the Catholics, and in reality by Calvin, — suffered death for his attempted restoration of true Christianity, and for his denial of the popular doctrine of the Trinity then in vogue. Campanus, who declared that the Holy Spirit was only the influence by which man was redeemed and assimilated to God, died in prison in Cleves about 1578. The followers of Laelius and Faustus Socinus preserved in Poland the views of their founder, and were attacked, as the extreme of Protestant individualism. The thought that God is continually making revelations by

illumination to all believers found its champion prophet in Sebastian Franck, — by turns a priest, a Lutheran preacher, a soap manufacturer, a learned printer, and always a popular writer. There were times when these Spirits of Fanaticism, with their new-found truths, developed into orderly, systematic schools of enthusiasts. The "Assemblies of the Saints," and the "Collegiants," — representing the two sides of Calvinism and Arminianism, — were the two orderly and systematic communities which were the logical results of the peculiar religious and socialistic tenets of that primitive patriarch, Simon Menno. Here the balance of enthusiasm was on the accredited side of law and order; the new movement was well ballasted; there was a guiding, disciplinary keel which kept it steady, and gave it an impulse to go forward.

But the Anabaptists of Münster, in their wild excesses, have drawn in history the extreme line of fanaticism, as they have shown us the fearful lengths to which an intoxicated imagination can carry an entire community, as it has gone staggering under this worse than alcoholic drunkenness, this human monopoly of divine power. Since they declared that they were inspired by the Holy Ghost, they were in consequence exalted above all law, and rebelled against every form of government. They formed, in fact, the spiritual condottiere or freebooter class of the Reformation. In their individual illumination they despised all the institutions of Church and State, and justified their actions by quoting, in the right of private judgment, isolated passages from the Bible for overthrowing all existing relations in society. These fanatic Anabaptists in Münster finally

formed a theocratic democracy, which they declared was to be the commencement of Christ's promised kingdom upon earth. One Mathiesen was regarded as the prophet Enoch, who long ago, it was foretold, was to appear before the advent of Jesus, the King and Judge of the waiting world.

After his death, in the street-riots of this struggle, John Bockelson, a tailor, was crowned as the spiritual vice-king of the world until the Messiah should come. Prophets of the new theocracy were sent abroad throughout Germany ; a community of goods was established ; polygamy was introduced, as a return to primitive and patriarchal usage ; and the most sanguinary proceedings were enacted under the pretence of a divine inspiration. Here, then, in the city of Münster, for ten days, a tailor-king, crowned and robed, with a likeminded hierarchy, ruled a mixed community, in which enthusiasts, sensualists, and levellers called their very lusts and animal passions the motions of the Holy Ghost. And when they died fighting for their short-lived day of power, they fought with the rage of tigers, and with the zeal of the Turks when they rally under the Prophet's standard for the defence of Islam and the religion of the Koran.

It happens to us, then, when we see such exhibitions of fanaticism, that we try to draw the limits of enthusiasm outside of our own race and nation, and seek for some ethnic peculiarity as the cause of all this excess. We find tendencies towards fanaticism in the Jewish zealot, or the fatalistic Mahometan, or the fiery Spaniard, or the excitable Celt. The Italian, the Frenchman, and the Irishman become to us types of this extreme.

But history reverses our preconceived impressions, and shows us that, after all, this tendency is not an ethnic but a universal one, which we share as a common inheritance of our humanness. It has been given to the English race in Protestant Europe to reveal the inner depths of a fanaticism which has surpassed that of all other peoples, and has become the difficult problem for us to answer which we see it is, simply because it parodies, in its extremes, those very qualities which we hold most sacred, and glory in as our greatest heritage. For, just at that period when England was developing its constitutional government to the highest possible point, and, in its overthrow of the authority of Rome, was thrown back upon its own self-reliance for that reserve stock of latent guidance which it had lost in cutting away from the Papacy, — there arose the doctrine of the Right of Private Judgment; and, in the establishment of this subjective rule in the place of the discarded objective one, the lawful limits of enthusiasm were ruthlessly washed away. Absolutism in matters of religious conviction there must be somewhere. Three centres of authority presented themselves: in a church, in a parchment, in a mood of mind. And these were the three factors working and grinding, like stones upon the sea-shore in a September gale, during that revolution which surged and swayed, from the days of James I. to the final settlement of William and Mary. This was the epoch which has given us the three salient warring forces of the age: the High-church Cavalier, the Covenanting Presbyterian, and the Independent Roundhead.

For, after all, the modified papacy of Laud, the Koran-

ized Bible of the Covenant, and the fanaticism of the Fifth Monarchy were the three representatives of absolutism which were produced by the throes of the great English Revolution.

Perhaps never, in the history of any nation, has there been given such a lot of trial and discipline as that which hedged in the footsteps of Oliver Cromwell. This is the emphatic rendering of his life by Carlyle. Coming into power as the leader of a fanatical band of enthusiasts, he slipped off the character of a sectarian enthusiast in the presence of the many and far-reaching problems brought before him for solution ; and in refusing to be king, and in becoming the Lord Protector, he stood upon new and self-made ground, and was the target for every fanatical fire-arm of the day. There has never been just such a period in the history of any constitutional government. The "7 to 8 Commission," which has given us our latest President, is the nearest approach to this constitutional strain, which was not a usurpation. With a breadth and comprehension which even Clarendon in his good-humored reasonableness was compelled to admit, Cromwell drew the line for himself as to what was required of him,—not now as the leader of a faction, but as the ruler of a commonwealth. And it was this wise self-restraint, this higher growth of foresight, this latent cosmopolitanism, which threw upon him that reputation for hypocrisy and cunning and insincerity which has lived on, from Clarendon's summing up of his character to the popular and superficial traditionalists of to-day. The whole kingdom was amazed at the man, and at the strong positions which

he assumed. His enemies hated him ; his friends were jealous of him ; the party whips and the hacks of numerous cliques declared that he had deserted them, and had gone back upon his side : and thus, as it happens at every great constitutional crisis, — when the party rank and file cannot behold the coming light that is afar off, and can only feel the dust of their own march and hear the heavy tread of their own numbers, — he stood alone, reviled and misunderstood when living, but justified in the light of clearer after-days when dead.

Here and there through history we see these towering images, standing above the ordinary plane, as the image of Nebuchadnezzar's dream stood upon the Babylonian sands. What if it is a mixed image? Have we not all this mixture in our nature ; and are not the world's great men after all only men? The feet of mire and clay — have we not this from that first man which is of the earth earthy? The legs of iron and brass — grit and assurance — is not this the necessary alloy around which the finer qualities must gather and harden? The head of silver and gold — is not this the nature crowned after all with its own best gifts? And is not all this the way of human nature: "every man in his own order;" "to every seed its own body"? The hot-headed and the rebellious ; the whimsical religious, who would willingly do no harm, but who cleared the way for artful rogues and planning knaves ; the vast crowd of hangers-on to success, who had every thing to gain and nothing to lose ; the crushed Cavaliers, who, in their poor but respectable gentility, tried to forget their losses and to remember only that they had once been gen-

tlemen ; the Romanists, who in this civil strife had been let alone, and who were now coy enough about giving their friendship to either cooing charmer ; the successful army, which was in no hurry to be disbanded ; the machine Parliament, with its hard-headed managers, who were greatly disturbed lest Cromwell now should go too far ; and, crowning all these teasing elements, the gypsy-like troops of fanatical Quakers, Baptists, Levellers, and Fifth-monarchy men, — pressed home upon Cromwell their multifarious objections to his policy, and forced him to rise above all their differing phases of enthusiasm, and draw the lines of government with a firm hand himself. It is astonishing in the calm light of to-day to survey these times, and to believe that serious and conscientious men could hold such vagaries outside of the walls of a madhouse. Plots against the Protector's life became the order of the day, covered by the Biblical sanction of Ehud's and Jael's examples, and other precedents from the stormy period of Israel's rule in the days of the Judges ! The followers of George Fox, exalting their peculiar views of the Inward Light and the extraordinary impulse of the Holy Ghost, interrupted places of worship and courts of justice with their ecstatic cries ; and, having suffered the minor persecutions of the whipping-post and the stocks, finally set up their own meetings, and became organized and equipped as the sect of Quakers. The instances of their wildness and extravagance, as given in Neal's "History of the Puritans," show us the extremes of an unballasted enthusiasm. "A female came into Whitehall Chapel, stark naked, in the midst of public worship, the Lord Protector himself being present.

. . . Another came into the Parliament House, with a trenchard in her hands, which she broke in pieces, saying, 'Thus shall ye be broken in pieces!' . . . Thomas Aldam, having complained to the Protector of the imprisonment of some friends in the country, and not finding redress, took off his cap and tore it in pieces, saying, 'So shall thy government be torn from thee and thy house.' Several, pretending an extraordinary message from Heaven, went about the streets of London, denouncing the judgments of God against the Protector and his council. One came to the door of the Parliament House with a drawn sword, and wounded several who were present, saying he was inspired by the Holy Ghost to kill every man that sat in the House." But perhaps the most extravagant instance of this circumambient fanaticism then so frequent, was that of James Naylor, formerly an officer in Lambert's army, and a much-admired speaker among these people, some of whom, we are told, "had such a veneration for him that they styled him the Everlasting Sun of Righteousness, the Prince of Peace, the only-begotten Son of God, and the Fairest among ten thousand." When he was in prison at Exeter, many of his friends and followers kissed his feet, and after his release went before him into the city of Bristol. They walked before him, bareheaded, spreading their scarfs and handkerchiefs in the way, and crying out, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of hosts! Hosanna in the Highest! Holy, holy is the Lord God of Israel!" The magistrates of Bristol had him again arrested, and sent him up to Parliament upon a charge of blasphemy: first, for admitting religious worship to be paid

to him ; and, secondly, for assuming the names and attributes of the Almighty. To the first of these charges he replied ingeniously, in a *petitio-principii* method of reasoning, that he might not refuse any honors which others *who were moved by the Holy Ghost* gave him ; and to the second charge, on being asked whether he had reproved the persons who had given him divine honors and titles, he replied, " If they had it from the Lord, what had I to do to reprove them ? I do abhor that any honors due to God should be given to me, as I am a creature ; but it pleased the Lord to set me up as a sign of the coming of the Righteous One, and what has been done to me, passing through the town, 'twas commanded by the power of the Lord to be suffered to be done to the outward man, *as a sign* ; but I abhor any honor as a creature."

Another phase of opposition to the existing government, under the cloak of religious enthusiasm, occurred later on in Cromwell's life, when the same ruling idea of a monopoly of divine powers, or an incarnation of the Holy Ghost in human passions, prevailed. The extreme independents and enthusiastic republicans, having signally failed in their revolutionary endeavors in Parliament, agreed, to the number of three hundred, to force a revolution in the government, to kill the Protector, and proclaim Jesus as king. It was the Münster movement of the Anabaptists in Germany repeated upon English soil a century later. Still there danced before the tremulous vision of these enthusiasts that far-off prophecy of the prophet Daniel, — the stone cut without human hands tumbling in upon the erect image of the existing government, and dashing it into fragments.

Their arms and ammunition were carefully stored away, ready for that day when the fulness of the plot had come. They copied the war-cry and the standard of Judas Maccabeus, as he fought against the tyranny of Antiochus. A lion couchant, — referring to the tribe of Judah, — with the motto, “Who shall rouse him up?” was their standard!

The Rev. John Hunt, in his “History of Religious Thought in England,” describes with great vividness this broken-light period of religious enthusiasm in English history. The “Two Witnesses” of the Muggletonians, the Mosaical philosophy of the Rosicrucians, and the preaching of the Fifth-monarchy prophets, are alike carefully and philosophically considered. There can be little doubt that these latter fanatics publicly preached about Cromwell, as the little horn which made war upon the saints immediately before the millennium period, and was at last overcome by them. One Charles Teake, on the day when Cromwell was proclaimed Lord Protector, preached about this little horn as the persecutor of the saints, and asked, “Who shall be your lord protector in the day when Jehovah’s fury shall be poured out like fire?”

But, as so often has happened in the history of English conspiracies, their plans were discovered, and these restless Fifth-monarchy men, with their old warlike passions, — the last remnant of the civil strife, — were imprisoned until after Cromwell’s death, when, falling into new disturbances, they were executed at the time of Charles the Second’s restoration.

It is difficult to realize all this in England: difficult to imagine the British House of Commons stopping its

business for eleven days for the trial of this poor James Naylor, who imagined that God was in him, and that all this adoration from the people was not to him, but to the divinity within him. This Fifth-monarchy fanaticism, then, was not an enthusiasm smouldering in a corner. It blazed out in the foremost places in the land. In the House of Commons, the men in authority had ecstasies publicly. After the expulsion of the Presbyterians, the preacher, Hugh Peters, started up in the middle of a sermon and cried out, "Now I have it by revelation, — now I must tell you: This army must root up monarchy, not only here, but in France and other kingdoms round about. This is to bring you out of Egypt. This army is that corner-stone, cut out of the mountains, which must dash the powers of the earth to pieces. But it is objected that the way we walk in is without precedent. What think you of the Virgin Mary? Was there ever any precedent before that a woman should conceive a child without the company of a man? This is an age to make examples and precedents in!"¹ The literature of these days is filled with the fantastic talk and follies of the so-called illuminated and inspired. It shines forth in Cromwell's letters, in Clarendon's annals, in George Fox's journal, and in Burton's Parliamentary diary of the times. Women and soldiers would struggle to mount the pulpit and preach; and, in the scuffle at the foot of the stairs, some happy third party would leap over them and take the coveted ranting-post.

The strangest ceremonies took place in public. In 1644, the Anabaptists rebaptized a hundred men and women to-

¹ Walker's History of Independency, part ii. p. 49. 1648.

gether, at twilight, in streams, in branches of the Thames and elsewhere, plunging them in the water over head and ears. One Oates was brought to trial for the murder of a girl, Annie Martin, who died a few days after her baptism of a cold which had seized her. William Simpson, one of George Fox's disciples, "was moved of the Lord to go, at several times for three years, naked and barefoot before his brethren, as a sign unto them, in the markets, courts, towns, cities, to priests' houses, and to great men's houses, telling them, so shall they all be stripped naked, as he was stripped naked. And sometimes he was moved to put on hair sackcloth, and to besmear his face, and to tell them, so would the Lord besmear all their religion, as he was besmeared."¹ All such exhibitions as these are a curious fulfilment of Plato's prophecy of what would surely come to pass in the tentative efforts of mankind to form an ideal community upon earth. "In the fifth book of his Republic, there is a striking anticipation of every scheme of universal society which has been propounded by religious fanatics or political theorists, from the propagation of Christianity to the present day."²

Thus even in Plato's paper republic we find those communistic germs which, when forced on by religious or political enthusiasm, have given us a Fifth-monarchy movement, or a reign of terror in a French Commune.

Before and after this transformative epoch in the constitutional history of England,—when, underneath all these disorders, the deep, broad strata of the nation's common-

¹ Fox's Journal, 6th ed. 1836.

² Maurice's Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, vol. i. p. 167.

sense was settling down to a hard-won constitutionality, — there was an era of fanaticism, a prelude and a *finale* to the strife of the Revolution.

In the days of James I. and Elizabeth, the prevailing fanaticism took the form of superstitious dread. Every one was afraid of witches: every one, from Sir Matthew Hale to the most ignorant ploughboy, believed in the fearful, cunning power of witches. Bishop Jewell, preaching before the Queen, tells her that witches and sorcerers are on the increase. Some competent ministerial experts on this subject, he declares, assert: "That they have had in their parish at one instant seventeen or eighteen witches: meaning such as could work miracles supernaturallie; that they work spells by which men pine away, even unto death, — their color fadeth, their flesh rotteth, their speech is benumbed, their senses are bereft; that, instructed by the devil, they make ointments of the bowels and members of children, whereby they ride in the aire, and accomplish all their desires. When a child is not baptized, or defended by the sign of the cross, then the witches catch them from their mothers' sides in the night, . . . kill them, . . . or, after burial, steale them out of their graves, and seethe them in a caldron untill their flesh be made potable. It is an infallible rule that everie fortnight, or at the least everie moneth, each witch must kill one child at the least, for his part." All this witchcraft and bewitching business was the fanaticism of fear.

The revealed religion of that day gave to human nature's sense of dread the necessary material for the manufacture of those furies which ever follow mankind, and lash the

race with the remorse of their revengeful stings. And when we remember that all this superstition was within the defined domain of Christianity, and was formed into a dogma of dread necessary to be believed, to be considered orthodox and of good report, we can well understand the sad dilemma to which the men and women of that age were reduced : either to rebel against a creed like this, and stand afar off among the uncovenanted and those who were foreordained to be damned, or to believe in a Christ who in some mysterious way was outwitted by the devil with his legions of witches.

The last great enthusiasm of the English race, the third and final freak of fanaticism, — coming after the superstition of witchcraft and the illuminated politics of the Fifth-monarchists, — was the magical monopoly of divine power wielded by that master mind, John Wesley. The letters of Wesley himself, Southey's account of the man and the movement, and the lately published life of Wesley, by Tyerman, have made the reading world familiar with those many and strange cases of religious excitement which are within the border-land of those two worlds, the supernatural and the psychological.

Never in the history of religious thought has there been given such a field for the contagion of enthusiasm, as in the guiding and fundamental principles of Wesleyanism. No priest, no altar, no sacrifice, no hierarchy, no traditions, are necessary. Given the human soul, worked upon by the commonest principles of religious awe, and a ubiquitous Holy Ghost, nearest to hand to him who feels the most and calls the loudest, — these are the simple elements

needed for that daily miracle of renewal, that miraculous coming of the Spirit of God every day into the human heart, analogued in the Roman Church by the daily miracle of the coming of Christ into the sacred wafer at the solemn moment of consecration, when, as Father Tom Burke once said, the Son of God hurries from the right hand of his Father's throne, to be present where his followers adore him.

Justification by faith ; thorough sanctification up to the point of perfection ; full assurance of salvation ; a higher-life exaltation, which renders one dead to the far-off primary-school works of the law ; instantaneous conversion ; the possibility of present miracles ; the witnessing Spirit of God, present in the commonest affairs of daily life, — all these were the doctrines which lifted this movement out of the dead rubbish of its surroundings, and gave it a swing forward, with so much dash and impetus !

Taine describes it in these words : “ A miracle has been wrought, and can be wrought at any moment, suddenly, under any circumstances, without warning. Some sinner, the oldest and most hardened, without wishing it, without having dreamed of it, falls down weeping, his heart melted by grace. The hidden thoughts which fermented long in these gloomy imaginations break out suddenly into storms, and the dull, brutal mind is shaken by nervous fits, which it had not known before. . . . At Kingswood, Whitfield, having collected the miners, a savage race, saw the white gutters made by the tears which plentifully fell from their black cheeks, — black as they came out of their coal-pits. Some trembled and fell ; others had transports of joy, —

ecstasies. The god and the brute which each man carries in himself were let loose; the physical machine was upset; emotion was turned into madness, and the madness became contagious." An eye-witness says: "At Everton, some were shrieking, some were roaring aloud. . . . The most general was a loud breathing, like that of people half-strangled and gasping for life; and, indeed, almost all the cries were like those of human creatures dying in bitter anguish. Great numbers wept without any noise; others fell down as dead. . . . I stood upon the pew-seat, as did a young man in the opposite pew, — an able-bodied, fresh, healthy countryman; but, in a moment when he seemed to think of nothing else, down he dropped, with a violence inconceivable. . . . I heard the stamping of his feet ready to break the boards, as he lay in strong convulsions at the bottom of the pew. . . . I saw a sturdy boy, about eight years old, who roared above his fellows; his face was red as scarlet. And almost all on whom God laid his hand turned either very red or almost black."

The smoke of these religious burnings, these human holocausts offered up to that divinely-forgiving God of the gospel whom Wesley and his followers preached so continually, spread into other portions of the religious world; and enthusiasm became the watchword in every quarter. In the North American Colonies, all sorts of strange sects suddenly appeared; and the vagaries of the Old World presented themselves with fresh vigor upon this virgin soil. Second-adventists, Shakers, Fourierites, Voltaireans, Hard-shell Baptists, Christians, Mennonites, Dunkers, came to the surface in the lavish richness and freedom of the New

World. In 1780, in London, the aroused enthusiasm took the popular form of hatred of Popery ; as seen in the Lord George Gordon riots, and the description of these times by Dickens, in his story of *Barnaby Rudge*. The prisons were forced open by the mob ; houses were burned ; barrels of liquor were broken open in the streets, and women and children in many cases drank themselves to death. In America, this spirit of enthusiasm took a political form, and spent itself in freeing the colonies from the mother country. In France, it took a social turn, and developed into the terrors of the French Revolution. "Enthusiasm" became a scare-word to the respectable and conservative mind, and was used as a synonyme for rebellion and fanaticism. In the will of William Price, the founder of the Price Lectures in Trinity Church, Boston, it is expressly declared that one of the lectures is to be against "enthusiasm ;" by which technical use of the word he had in mind the common and fanatical meaning of this much-abused term Enthusiasm.

But enough of these instances of enthusiasm. We all have our moods and prejudices, our passions and excitements. Sometimes the individual or the nation is strong enough and sufficiently well-balanced to bear them. At other times we are broken by them, and they unsettle us. It is Taine, in his review of the strange career of Jonathan Swift, who says : "There are, indeed, but two modes of agreeing with the world : mediocrity of mind and superiority of intelligence ; the one for the public and the fools, the other for artists and philosophers. The one consists in seeing nothing ; the other in seeing all."

Here, then, we can rest. To understand the inner meaning of these upheavals of enthusiasm in human character and in history, to know their lawful lines of action and their lawful limits, we must not be content to see in these phenomena mere surface outbreaks, coming and going like the wind, whither it listeth,—we must look deeply, if we would see all the elements that are here to view.

Isaac Taylor, in his essay upon Enthusiasm, has given us a world of light, and a true canon of criticism, upon this subject of lawful and unlawful inspiration. Dr. Wayland, also, has discussed this question of the extent of religious claims upon us.¹

The secret springs of enthusiasm have an undoubted origin in the physiological and psychological condition of individuals and of nations. We must get down to the physical basis, if we would know the origin of the enthusiasm and the rationale of its limits. Climate, modes of life, religion, forms of amusement, literature, condition of society,—all unite to give the nature its trend, its swing, its bias; and in these formative principles lie hidden the germs of those undeveloped passions and prejudices which, when aroused, we recognize as enthusiasm or fanaticism according as we draw the line and establish the limits. Imagination, contagion, and the germinal freaks of insanity, all unite to spread the ravages of this electric wave of impulse which we call enthusiasm. Thus it comes to pass—because of the mixed elements in it, and because men when aroused and excited are apt to part company with the cool mood of reason, which is its habitual mood—that this subject of enthusiasm, with its boundary lines, is a

¹ "The Limitations of Human Responsibility," by Francis Wayland, Brown University. 1838.

difficult one, and must ever remain, at the best, a debatable border-land, fought over and striven for again and again : now claimed by the regular troops, now held by the gypsy camp and the marauding freebooter. For we all get at last to believing that which we have long been imagining, and are wanting in our hearts to believe.

To conclude, then : we must first of all discriminate between that form of enthusiasm which is self-originated and consequently real, and that form of it which is at best a reproduction of some former phase of power, and is a second-hand article, spurious in kind and weak in degree. The efforts of Newman and Pusey, in the Catholic revival of 1843, were, after all, only the attempted return to a former condition of Christianity, which in its ruling spirit was utterly anachronous. The Church has its moods, quite as conspicuously as Nature with her seasons, and man with his passions. The Ritualistic revival has been a mood in the direction of ecclesiastical ceremonialism.

The genius of Edward Irving, in the movement which is called by his name, ran away with him, in his hopeless efforts to revive, in his day, the apostolic supernaturalism of the church at Corinth. He died in the fog of miracles, where every object was dim and distorted, and where men became weird in their haziness and were as trees walking. This was another picture of the enthusiasm of a mood. It seems as if ecclesiastical moods were the regular attendants of ecclesiastical reproductions : as if, with the revival of obsolete and unfamiliar lights, there must come the strange, stray glancings of auroral and meteoric wonders,—phenomena which add elements of mys-

tery to the subject, without increasing the light whereby to solve it.

Ewald, in his history of Israel, when speaking of the revived Hebraism of Ezra and Nehemiah, uses these words: "Whenever an institution which has been dominant in earlier times is revived in a later day, or when one first framed in distant lands or ages is adopted by strangers with fresh predilection or enthusiasm, there is great danger that its dazzling and misleading externalities, rather than its essence, will attract the eye and sink into the heart of the majority. Even if the case is one of a religion already sanctified by its former greatness and its antiquity, the holiness which is embraced with new fervor may very easily be nothing but that outward sanctity which itself, in the first instance, was only hallowed by the true and eternal holiness of the life and contents of the religion." In Israel's case, this reproduced enthusiasm was of the revival order, and was therefore neither strong nor lasting. For a little while, something like the primitive zeal was seen; but before long, the earlier enthusiasm of the penitent exiles broke down amid the manufactured externalities of their faith; and there was no more religious spring, no elastic rebound, to the fagged-out nation.

And here we meet with the radical question of the subject. It is this: How can we tell the true from the false enthusiasm? What constitute the limits of that enthusiasm which is a true impulse coming from the pure, unsullied depths of character? By what canon can we judge the claims of all enthusiasts, and eventually learn to discriminate between that which is from the upper springs of

character and that which is from the lower, baser motives? What is the test?

We can but approximate to an answer. This puzzling question cannot be ultimately settled within the confined limits of a single essay. Let me state a few propositions which may guide us through the tangled thicket, until an acknowledged highway shall be there.

Let us take the claims of Apollonius of Tyana, Mahomet, Swedenborg, Joseph Smith, Ann Lee the Shakeress, Augustus Comte, and Andrew Jackson Davis, the great Western apostle of Spiritualism; and let us compare them with the lofty claims of the Founder of Christianity. What shall we say of these matched faiths, these parallel enthusiasms?

1. We affirm of true enthusiasm, that it must correspond to the existing laws of reason; it must not first create new laws, and then be judged by any packed tribunal.

2. It must receive the sanction of posterity: not necessarily the sanction of its own day and generation.

3. The pressure of the individual's inspiration limits his responsibility for imparting his views to others. This may be a debatable point; but the weight of reason seems to rest, after all, on the side of this proposition.

The inspired man — whether he be *really* inspired, or is a *so-called* inspired man, or *imagines* himself inspired — can use only moral means for the propagation of his tenets. Here we get at the root of the philosophy of religious persecutions. The Turk forced his creed upon Southern Europe, and John Sobieski arose to fight it down. Philip II. forced Alva to coerce the stubborn Hollanders, and William of Orange recognized the enthusiasm of his oppo-

sition as from God.¹ So with all religious wars. How far any of us have a right to force our so-called enthusiasm upon others, because we feel an individual pressure; how far we are responsible for our load of zeal,—is an interesting question in moral philosophy.

The case of the nonjurors; the Free-Church disruption in Scotland; the canvassing of a city into districts, to be visited for a Moody tabernacle,—are all instances of religious pressure begotten by individual inspiration. Thomas Aquinas, in his “*Summa Theologia*,”—in dealing with the question whether infidels are to be compelled into accepting the faith,—considers, among other objections to compulsion, a saying of Augustine, that a man may do other things unwillingly, but that he can only believe willingly; and that the will cannot be compelled. Still it is written, “Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled.” The final conclusion he makes is, that Jews and Gentiles who have never professed the faith are not to be compelled to believe, and that wars against them are lawful only as means of preventing them from impeding the progress of the faith. But those who have taken the faith upon them, or who still profess it, becoming heretics and apostates, are in a different condition; on such corporal compulsion is to be exercised, that they may fulfil what they have promised and hold fast what they have undertaken.

4. When human nature is unduly aroused by any one strong motive, the probabilities are that lesser and unworthy motives will in the long run take the lead. We

¹ See the Thanksgiving Collect after a Victory, in the Prayer-book.

see this, in history, in the cases of Henry IV. of France, Henry VIII. in England, Rienzi, Cromwell, Aaron Burr; and, in the Church, in the examples of Savonarola the prophet, Thomas à Becket the ecclesiastic, Erasmus the philosopher, and Dr. Livingstone at the last exalting the explorer in his nature rather than the missionary.

5. In any true estimate of this subject, room must be made for the element of individual temperament, which has much to do with the amount and the quality of zeal. As a prevailing bias, giving tone and color to the verdict of the judgment, to temperament must be allowed its full share of causation. An illustration of this is found in Professor Seeley's argument, in the chapter on The Enthusiasm of Humanity, in "Ecce Homo."

We may define enthusiasm, then, as, —

1. A heat or ardor of mind caused by a belief of private revelation. . . .

2. Liveliness of imagination : elevation of fancy. — *Worcester.*

Or, —

A belief or conceit of private revelation; the vain confidence or opinion of a person that he has special divine communications from the Supreme Being, or familiar intercourse with Him. — *Webster.*

And the lawful limits of enthusiasm are found, when it exists —

1. Within that habitual cool mood of reason which is the normal phase of reason; when —

2. The harmonious balance of the entire nature corrects with its after-judgment the aroused and over-excited force; when —

3. The average Christian consciousness of the age approves of the new departure ; and when —

4. The after-results, in our Lord's words, verify the pretensions of the present, and "wisdom is justified of her children."

II.

THE AGE OF THE SCHOOLMEN.

THE scene of Christ with the doctors in the temple — that well-known event in the child-life of Jesus — finds its counterpart in the history of Christianity, when, from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries, Christian truth was busy with the doctors, “both hearing them and asking them questions.” It is hardly correct to designate this period, as some have done, with the title of the Childhood Period of the Church. There never has been in the history of Christianity so much technical knowledge, or such a lavish display of the mechanics of human learning, as in the days of the Schoolmen. And yet, in a certain sense, this period finds its analogue in the boyhood period of the growing human mind. Who does not remember, in his own past history, the story-telling, conundrum-raising, rebus-answering age ; when, by the open fire, in long winter evenings, with the world shut out, and the chosen few well initiated into the technical intricacies of the familiar games, the power of childish imagination shows its influence, reproduced in conquering the dreary rules of the Latin grammar ; and Sinbad the Sailor and Ali Baba seem to develop that early precocity which so soon masters the prepositions which govern the ablative, or the multiplication table, or the thrice read and learned piece from the “Academy Speaker”

for declamation day? No father can go over again the dusty highway of the old school-books with his children, and find the same long rules to be committed to memory, and the forgotten but irrepressible sheep and birds and horseshoe-nails of the arithmetic, without wondering at that technical prowess in by-gone days which now fails him, and without seeing his old knack of adaptability reproduced in the mind of the youthful learner.

And in very much this same way, with this same precocity and adaptation, with a technical accuracy which is to-day a marvel, with a memory for minutiae which is unparalleled in the history of mental philosophy, and with the child-prodigy type of imagination, which reappears as a power in the technical tasks assigned to them,—the Schoolmen stand out in Church history as the representatives of Christianity among the doctors; just as the Crusaders show us Christianity in the warrior age, and the monks represent it as at home with the ruling thought of self-sacrifice.

It is this Age of the Schoolmen which is the subject of this paper. It is a long and interesting period, but one that is strangely vague in its scenic surroundings.

It seems like winter in the forest, or at the sea-shore,—this long stretch of solitariness and individualism, from Charlemagne to Luther. We read of Abelard's lectures, at Paris, in his controversy with William of Champeaux, or of Thomas Aquinas, at Cologne; but there are very few trellis-vines for our imagination to run upon. Scott's "Ivanhoe" and "Quentin Durward" give us, perhaps, our most vivid impressions of this period. But the field is an

open and inviting one for any bold venturer who would take up Canon Kingsley's mantle, and explore this dim and indistinct region.

It is a difficult matter to group these various authors into manageable classes which can be easily handled, without being vague and general, or too encyclopedic and literal. These Schoolmen were many, and their writings are miscellaneous in character, and are always profoundly technical. Some of them were jurists, and shaped the old Roman law into the new needs of the period of the *Rénaissance*. Some of them were philosophers and metaphysicians; others never strayed beyond the orbit of theology; while yet others brought their rich gleanings in common-law and metaphysics and logic, and laid them down at the feet of the traditional Catholic theology. It is Dean Milman who condenses into a single paragraph the opposite tendencies of this age. "Monastic Christianity," he writes, "led to two unexpected but inevitable results: to the expansion of the human understanding, even till it strove to overleap the lofty barriers of the established Catholic doctrine; and to a sullen and secret mutiny, at length to an open insurrection, against the power of the sacerdotal order. . . . Of this first movement,—the intellectual struggle for emancipation,—Abelard was the representative and the victim. Of the second,—far more popular, immediate, and, while it lasted, perilous, that which rose up against the whole hierarchical system of Christendom,—the champion was Arnold of Brescia." It was towards Abelard in philosophy, or to Arnold in politics, that at last the ponderous system of the scholastic thinking swung around,—like a stranded

vessel going to pieces in different ways at opposite ends of the same rock. The ark which had floated so long over the face of Europe, with every form of life within it, struck at last upon the projecting peak of the new age, and found a fresh, green world awaiting it, after its dreary seclusion for centuries. Taine declares that the "mark of genius is the discovery of some wide, unexplored region in human nature." This is the all-powerful test which he continually uses throughout his varying judgments upon human nature, as represented in the study of English literature. Certain poets and writers possessed this power, and they were great and powerful in their influence. Others are mere decorative artists, with an eye to the beautiful; but they discover nothing. It was the discoveries of Bacon, seen from afar, which brought the system of scholasticism to an end; which snapped the cable-lines that had connected every thinker with the far-off Aristotle, and caused the Saracenic illumination, which had been so picturesque and silvery in the night, to be like a forgotten moon,—still shining if you hunt for it in the heavens, but unnoticed in the splendors of an October sunrise.

Aristotle in the past; the Moorish ascendancy the great intellectual rival of the Schoolmen; and the inductual philosophy of Bacon the surely-coming key of power,—these are the three steps in any true survey of the intellectual and religious development of Europe at this period.

Perhaps nowhere has this contrast between the deductive tendencies of the old system and the inductual methods of the new been more forcibly shown than by Macaulay, in his essay on Bacon: "We have sometimes thought an

amusing fiction might be written, in which a disciple of Epictetus and a disciple of Bacon should be introduced as fellow-travellers. They come to a village where the small-pox has just begun to rage, and find houses shut up, intercourse suspended, the sick abandoned, mothers weeping in terror over their children. The stoic assures the dismayed population that there is nothing bad in the small-pox, and that to a wise man disease, deformity, death, the loss of friends, are not evils; the Baconian takes out a lancet and begins to vaccinate. They find a body of miners in great dismay; an explosion of noisome vapors has just killed many of those who were at work, and the survivors are afraid to venture into the cavern. The stoic assures them that such an accident is nothing but a mere ἀποπροηγμένον; the Baconian, who has no such fine word at his command, contents himself with devising a safety-lamp. They find a shipwrecked merchant wringing his hands on the shore; his vessel, with an inestimable cargo, has just gone down, and he is reduced in a moment from opulence to beggary. The stoic exhorts him not to seek happiness in things which lie without himself, and repeats the whole chapter of Epictetus, — πρὸς τοὺς τὴν ἀπορίαν δεδοικότας; the Baconian constructs a diving-bell, goes down in it, and returns with the most precious effects from the wreck. It would be easy to multiply illustrations of the difference between the philosophy of thorns and the philosophy of fruit, — the philosophy of words and the philosophy of works."

All great inventions and discoveries seem simple enough after the world has possessed them. It is the long-waiting

period, when fresh power uses by-gone methods, which tests our thorough or our superficial criticism. We profit by the experience of those who have gone before us, quite as truly in the world of thought as in the practical affairs of every-day life ; and that criticism, which is intolerant of the struggles of the scholastic doctors to get juice out of the syllogisms of Aristotle, fails to remember that it is not always possible to bring the new wine and the new vessel together.

Only look at the state of Europe at this period. The schools and universities which had grown out of the efforts of Charlemagne and Alcuin were the fortresses and depositaries of Christian civilization. At Canterbury, at Paris, at Cologne, at Bologna, these monastic searchers after truth worked on in silence. It was barbarism's winter out of doors ; but within the monasteries, upon the welcoming hearth, the logs cracked merrily, and the long evenings told of immense work accomplished.

It is difficult for us in this age to begin to comprehend the technical elaborations of this long metaphysical period, because it is difficult for us to take in the idea that every thought in hymn, in prayer, in poem, in sermon, in letter, and in conversation, had to be pressed through the huge metallic machinery of the Aristotelian method. Every thing was done by the *a priori* logical instrument, which in ages past had been created for theory and not for practice, and which should have been preserved as a specimen of past reasoning, and not used as the every-day standard for the every-day requirements. There was no room for any induction, or for any outside methods of intellection ;

every thing was stretched across the Procrustean bed of Aristotle ; every thing was deduction from the many covered points of the law as then declared.

In Dr. Vaughan's recent life of Thomas Aquinas, — a book written entirely from the Roman Catholic standpoint, — the methods of elaboration and the habits of thought of this most astonishing of the Schoolmen are carefully and minutely described. The brain aches on simply reading the heads and titles of these discourses. To follow understandingly through this wilderness of Latin becomes a venture which the trained expert alone will dare to assume ; and the ordinary reader returns to his every-day reading with very much the same feeling that the early discoverers of this country must have had when they laid on the adjectives, but were powerless to draw maps. And these men, Duns Scotus, and Albertus Magnus, and the rest of them, were looked up to as having by their labors acquired a right of way over every pathway of human reasoning.

“As soon as Chaucer gets into a reflective mood, straightway St. Thomas, Peter Lombard, the Manual of Sins, the treatise on Definition and Syllogism, the army of the Ancients and of the Fathers, descend from their glory, enter his brain and speak in his stead ; and the trouvère's pleasant voice becomes the dogmatic and sleep-inspiring voice of a doctor.”¹

It was this heavy instrument, the scholastic philosophy, which was applied to every department of human thought. The well-remembered marvels of these doctors and teachers seemed to shut out from the public the thought that there

¹ Taine's Eng. Lit., i. 213.

might possibly be, some day, a discovery in the line of new methods ; and thus the old terms everlastingly ran on. But, by and by, the subjects began to give out ; there were not conundrums enough on earth left to these devouring minds, and the "more things than are dreamed of in our philosophy," began to appear.

Here are some of the problems which affected the mind of St. Thomas Aquinas, in his "Summa Theologia :"
"Utrum angelus diligat se ipsum dilectione naturali vel electiva ? Utrum in statu innocentiae fuerit generatio per coitum ? Utrum omnes fuissent nati in sexu masculino ? Utrum cognitio angeli posset dici matutina et vespertina ? Utrum martyribus aureola debeatur ? Utrum Virgo Maria fuerit virgo in concipiendo ? Utrum remanserit virgo post partum ?"

At last we know a new age came ; and all such questions and the mechanical methods of debating them were forgotten, as even the Saracenic illumination was forgotten, in the fresh air and open sunlight of Francis Bacon's discoveries. The Schoolmen always suffer when we compare their age with after ages : just as forced children in a primary school suffer, when they are compared with free and rational collegians. But it is when we compare the technical exactness of their methods, with the exactness of the methods of others, that we find out how immeasurably superior they were in knowing their ground, and the extent of territory their ground rationally covered. In other words, they were *a priori experts* ; and it is ours to see if, in the coming age of inductive processes, — when the tentative methods of analogy will prevail over the deductive habits

of the past, in law, in medicine, in theology, — the coming defenders will know their tools and be able to use them with that rigor and artistic touch which marked the age of the Schoolmen. With the new age and the new Western world, and the new arts and inventions, there came that slur upon the past which is the backwater current of a strong reaction ; but the technical accuracy of the Schoolmen, together with the zeal and courage of the Jesuits, alike await to this day their unbiassed Protestant defenders.

It was the philosopher Boethius who prepared the way for the Schoolmen. Beginning, in his "Consolations," with the Platonism of Greek thought, he unconsciously worked his way to something like the mysticism of a Tauler, which, on its religious side, was the craving of a high ideal, and, on its Pagan side, was pantheistic absorption. The doctors who came after him ranked him among Christian teachers, and gave him a place by the side of the saints and teachers who had appeared in the earlier days of Christianity, — very much in the way in which Dante turns in his poem from Simon Peter and the Virgin Mary to pious Æneas and the poet Virgil. In other words, Boethius was the heralding voice which told beforehand of a something greater that was to come after. Philosophy became the guide to theology : the Monothelite controversy at Constantinople in the seventh century, and the rise of Mahomet with his fatalism at Mecca, compacted the Christian Church into a strong and growing debating-school. Based on Aristotle's methods, guided by the philosophic-theologic reasoning of Boethius, pressed into shape by the autocratic will of Gregory, made firm by the severe dom-

ination of Augustine over Pelagius, — Christianity, like a red-hot metal fresh from the forge, was ready for that hammering of Charlemagne and Alcuin which gave it the pattern and the form of Scholasticism.

Alcuin was a Rugby schoolmaster for the Anglo-Saxon boy-mind of the period. The face of Europe was changing : monasteries and schools and universities were springing up with something of that same forth-putting power which makes our own Colorado the inviting union it is of Eastern capital and Western enterprise. All the resources of thought were the old problems and the old scholastic methods ; but even these became living among living men, who were blessed with a reserve stock of motive-power.

Paschasius Radbertus and Godeschalcus were perhaps the first-fruits of this age of the Schoolmen. Radbertus, with the instinct of the ecclesiastic, found in the mystery of the Eucharist the true field for his speculations. He it was who watered that plant of the doctrine of the mysterious presence of Christ, which finally became definitely labelled as the Mass. And it is from his method of argument, that the later weapons of to-day, used in defence of this doctrine, have been forged. Godeschalcus, the Saxon, — who has been called an earlier Luther, — wrestled with the problem of Predestination, and, like Milton's angels in Paradise, —

“ Reasoned high
Of Providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute ;
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.”

But this Schoolman found in Augustine, not the man above the doctor, but always the trained expert above the man.

He seemed to glory in the spectacle which he pointed out of the irresistible waterfall plunge of Islamitic fate, changed into Christian terms, and known as Divine Sovereignty. He quoted from Augustine to maintain his oneness with the views of the past, just as Paschasius quoted from Gregory and the early Church to verify his positions in the Eucharistic controversy. And when another age came on, and the period of the Schoolmen had passed away for ever, we behold Calvin at Geneva upon the one side, and the theologians of the Council of Trent upon the other, resting their opposite systems upon these two scholastic piles, — which the heavy weights of logic had driven firmly down into the debatable foundations of the past.

But perhaps the most remarkable man of this period — at least of the earlier portion of it — was Johannes Scotus Erigena ; as Maurice calls him, “ *The metaphysician of the ninth century, and we conceive one of the acutest metaphysicians of any century.* ” It is interesting to us simply to call up the names of these great thinkers, these “ wrestlers for life and utterers of dogmas ; ” with whom perhaps we have once been familiar in student-days, and who have then been forgotten in the dust of life’s journey. In the company of Paschasius and Godeschalchus, Hincmar and Rabanus Maurus, this man shines out above them all.

We must distinguish John Scotus Erigena from Duns Scotus, who came afterwards, and who was the embodiment of all that was intricate and technical in the system of scholasticism. The men of his age little perceived the lengths to which his philosophy went, or how his pantheistic premises would be realized in the conclusions of

modern Germany. Erigena was the undoubted parent of speculative scholasticism. Berenger of Tours, in 1045, adopted Erigena's philosophy as his own, and was condemned, we know, by a council at Rome, under Leo IX., in 1050. Erigena was the master of Charles the Bald's famous school of learning, whose seat was in the warrior's palace. He travelled east and west, and was acquainted alike with the traditions of the Celtic races in Ireland and Wales and with the Saracenic lore of Arabia. He was the first of that long and strong line of reasoners, ending in the person of Sir William Hamilton, who have made philosophy the interpreter of religion. It is in Guizot's *Lectures on French Civilization* that his character as a metaphysician is brought before us ; though the drift of his argument is to prove that Erigena was after all a Neo-Platonist, rather than a Christian philosopher. But Johannes Scotus is not the first philosopher who has presented this double face. There have been philosophers who have seen in the mysticism of John Tauler only pantheism, while others have seen in the pantheism of Spinoza a Christian mysticism. Thus closely do these two worlds often collide.

The man was a true Celt,—an Irishman of the very first magnitude : quick, witty, intuitive, enriched with the gifts and graces of a ready mind, he could turn from the jokes at the table of the French King to the metaphysical problems of the predestinarian controversy, which was then the rage of the thinkers. He rebelled against the formal logic of his day, and carried on his arguments in the old Platonic manner by imaginary conversations, after the style of the "*Republic*" and the "*Gorgias*." His

great work bore the title of "*Περὶ Φύσεων Μερισμοῦ*," — or, "The Division of Nature." Maurice, in his "Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy," gives a clear description of the spirit and scope of this work, which it is useless here to quote.

He shows, among other propositions, that man, created in the image of God, is man as a trinity. He makes a profoundly Christian application of this fact, of which Brahminical, Buddhistic, Platonical, and Neo-Platonical thinkers had spoken. Sex in human nature he attributed to the fall of man. The original body of man he affirmed to have been spiritual and immortal : its corruption the consequence of transgression. Erigena was a Christian Platonist, — a believer in the restoration of all things, if indeed the end of all things be not Nirvana. Evil is to be brought to an end for ever ; death is to be no more ; the redemption by Christ has extended to other spheres, and the incarnation would have taken place even if man had never sinned.

The century which opened after that of Erigena shows us the Schoolmen hardening their speculations, and narrowing down to the logical and ecclesiastical methods which were becoming the cast-iron windlass whereon every form of thought was stretched. The ninth had been a free speculative century : the tenth shows us scholasticism becoming ecclesiastically compact and mechanical. Now the issue began between a traditional deductive philosophy, with its following traditional theology, and the breadth and freedom and natural investigations of the Saracenic schools in Spain. It was Rome cursing Cordova, and Cordova despising Rome. In the eyes of the Roman ecclesiastic,

the natural science of the Moslem schools was magic and black arts, fouled by the contact of a personal superintending devil. The celebrated Gerbert, afterwards known as Sylvester II., received his education from Saracenic hands, in Spain ; but his enlightenment did not increase his bulk of moral power. When he came to the Vatican as Pope, he was ambitious only for a restoration of the old pomp and greatness of the Roman emperors, not for the advancement of the new learning.

It was after the fright about the expected end of the world in the year 1000, that the intellectual current began to show which way it was tending. This century was like a water-shed district in a mountainous country : the streams of thought began to show in which direction they were turning. Lanfranc, at the Norman monastery of Bec, could not long remain hidden from the world, and dukes and scholars vied with each other in their many visits to this shrine of learning. For it was an age when men were wild to know if there was a teacher who could speak with a personal authority, and not as the iron-bound scribes. But his angry argument with Berengar of Tours, on the Eucharistic question of that day, shows a hauteur better fitted for the stirring life of ecclesiastical action than the unruffled calmness of the cell of an Aquinas ; and he landed at last in his true place when he accompanied William of Normandy to England, and became the statesman he was when he accepted the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

But if the name of Lanfranc was great in this eleventh century, the name of his successor was greater, — as there looms up in ecclesiastical history the stalwart figure of

Anselm. Born in Lombardy, he became the true Norman-Englishman. As Samuel was to Saul, or Nathan to David, Anselm at Canterbury was to the impetuous William. A man and an ecclesiastic who declared that "he would rather be in hell, if he were pure of sin, than possess the kingdom of heaven under the pollution of sin," must have had a stormy time in influencing the autocratic Norman duke and conqueror of Harold, who was his liege lord and king. Yet Anselm was strong enough to hold the king in virtual subjection, and to make Canterbury the growing power in the politics of Europe it was, all the way up to the fall of Becket in the days of Henry II.

His great work on the atonement, "*Cur Deus Homo*," lives to-day in the history of Christian doctrines; as is plain enough to any who are familiar with the problems of Anthropology, as given by Dr. William T. Shedd, in his history of Christian doctrines. That he had opponents and critics, and reviewers and deniers, is plain enough. Gaunilon, a monk, wrote in opposition "*A Book on Behalf of the Fool*,"—very much in the style of Archbishop Whately's argument against believing in the existence of Napoleon Bonaparte. It was meant to break the methods of Anselm, and is spicy enough even for the age of the Schoolmen. Anselm replied in the spirit of an equal combatant; and then passed on, in order to show his dialectical skill, to the question whether or not a grammarian was a substance! This was the height of the first period in the age of the Schoolmen.

The twelfth century opened upon the face of European civilization with two strong opposite tendencies: the move-

ment of the Crusades, and the movement of the Cloister. The knights on their horses and the monks in their cells, wounded kings and popes in the day of their wrath. Bernard of Clairvaux and Godfrey of Bouillon in the field of action ; the rival orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans in the meditative life of the monasteries ; the fierce strife of the Nominalist and Realist controversy ; the intellectual passage of arms between William of Champeaux and Abelard at Paris ; the brilliant career of the gifted and unhappy Abelard, the great intellectual dictator of his age, — all conspire to make this century a striking one in the period of the Schoolmen.

There are few periods in history so attractive and fascinating as this. The strange, romantic life of Abelard ; his scholarly attainments ; his human failings ; the gait of the man under the garb of the scholar ; his intellectual glory, his moral fall ; the tragedy of Heloise, — all unite to invest his history with peculiar charms. One cannot help associating the career of Abelard with the romance of Goethe's Faust, — since the philosopher and the man of the world seem to be so thoroughly blended, and the aspirations of the Christian student were so completely lost in the darkening of the conscience by his fall. His power over the masses was marvellous. No building in Paris could hold the multitude which flocked to hear him ; and when he deserted Paris for his retreats, Paris was deserted by the crowds in the streets, and the country places to which Abelard retired were filled with attendant strangers. There are few incidents in the history of mental passages-at-arms so brilliant as that which relates how Abelard, the student

and pupil of William of Champeaux at the University of Paris, disputed his master and distanced him in every intellectual encounter, and finally took the place of the chagrined and discomfited logician, whom he had driven out of Paris from sheer mortification at his great rival's popularity.

But Peter Abelard as a monk — with the fallen but devoted Heloise as an abbess — regained his old footing of influence over the keen French mind of the period. He had been great, and he had fallen; he had been a philosopher, and he had been a sinning man: and now the fact that he was a teacher again, with all this bitter experience of sin rolled in between his youth and his old age, made his later teachings more emphatic than ever.

His later years were spent in the long controversy over Nominalism and Realism, which subject became the great bone of contention for an entire century. His long discussion of the problem whether the universal is only "*res*," a thing, or "*nomen*," a name, is illustrated by his chapter, "*De Socratis — Destructione*," in which the specific difference between the attributes of genera and species is powerfully brought out. His "*Sic et Non*" — "Yes and No" — is another of his theological sketches. In this treatise, he shows that, by doubting, the human mind comes to inquiry, and by inquiry it arrives at truth. Christ, in the Temple sitting with the doctors, hearing them and asking them questions, was to his mind the picture of the human learner, with a divine inspiration urging him on in his doubt and search in his oft-repeated "Yes" and "No."

The boldness and dash of Abelard — together with his broad generalizations, in which Christ or Aristotle were quoted, only when each would count one on his side — was met by the teachings of Hugo de St. Victor, the head of the Mystic school. Ecclesiasticism into Rationalism, Rationalism into Mysticism, sacramentalism into dogmatism, dogmatism into speculation, unchecked speculation into the intuitionist philosophy, — this has always been the trend of the world's way of thinking.

After William of Champeaux came Abelard, with his two-edged sword of breadth, which cut in the twofold way, "Sic et Non," — "Yes and No ;" and after Abelard comes Hugo the Mystic.

Hugo carried on, in its original integrity of purpose, the school which William of Champeaux had founded at Paris, unmoved by the fickle populace, which had in turn applauded and condemned, and applauded again. In his "Didascalon," he strove to reconcile the old scholastic method of inquiry with practical piety, and was opposed to those quizzing, itching, conundrum-like subtleties which were then in fashion. Every great movement or awakening period, and every new stimulus upon our energies, breaks into one of two lines : either into the life of further study and retirement, or into the arena of immediate action. After Abelard, came, on the one hand, the cell-like introspection of Hugo the Mystic ; and, on the other hand, the struggling political efforts of Arnold of Brescia. It is difficult to find out always the exact relationship of one thing to another, though we know an unseen relationship exists. What Abelard's brilliant but puzzling speculations in the-

ology at Paris had to do with Arnold's scheme for restoring the senate and tribunes to Rome, and making it a Christian republic, it is difficult for us to find out. But inspiration works in zigzag paths, like the uncertain currents of the forked lightning; and it is hard to tell just where it will strike. "Oh, that I could know more!" is the cry of those who receive the impress of their inspiration as knowledge. "Oh, that I could do more!" is the cry of those who find their outlet in the world of action.

And in this double way, the life and influence and inspiration of the great Abelard worked outwards. Hugo de St. Victor led the way back from the world of strife to the life of meditation, and a pious, devotional settlement of those questions which had been so rudely knocked to and fro in the controversies which had preceded him; while Arnold carried his inspiration down into the seething political world, and began to connive with the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa to help him in his efforts with the people of Rome against the Pope.

His name is linked with that long band of Italian patriots and dreamers, — Dante, Tasso, Savonarola, Rienzi, Cavour, Mazzini, and Garibaldi; but the inspiration which made Arnold of Brescia a political martyr came from Abelard the Schoolman.

St. Bernard has always been looked upon as the great orthodox champion of the solid truth against the speculative whimsicalities of Abelard. But Bernard was too much a man of the busy world, with a dozen irons in the fire at the same time, to be contrasted against Abelard, as the Athanasius of the period against another Arius. Abelard's

nominalism was a stronger branch than that of Roscellin, whose so-called heretical views seem to have died with the death of their author. Bernard, a busy churchman, deep in plans and purposes with dukes and nobles, was no fit judge of the man whom he condemned; and the Council of Sens, before which Abelard refused to make any defence,—and which has come down through history with a very grave suspicion hanging over it as to its sobriety,—was, after all, only a packed tribunal, a drumhead court-martial, whose verdict, given among jeers and drunken cries, was a foregone conclusion. And thus, under the Pope's condemnation, the broken-down Abelard retired to the tender care of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Clugny, and died in peace in the year 1142.

As we look over the face of Europe at this time, we perceive the character and influence of the schools and universities which had struggled into being. Bologna, with its school of jurists for the elucidation of Roman law; Paris, with its theological University; and Oxford and Cambridge in England,—became the centres to which men of thought and literary aspirations flocked. The Englishmen—Robert Pulleyn, John of Salisbury, Alexander of Hales, and Roger Bacon—became noted on the Continent for their learning and ability, and threw an aureole of light around the fast-rising University of Oxford. This latter doctor, with his famous English name, was the forerunner of the coming age, which was to be so well known through the new philosophy of his great namesake. Like his successor, Francis Bacon, he investigated physical science, and thereby drew upon himself

the suspicion of magic ; and underwent both a popular condemnation as a wizard and student in the black art, and at the hands of his fellow-Franciscan friars, and finally by the Pope himself. There is that strong English common-sense, in every thing this man writes, which has always made English Catholicism so very different from Ultramontanism, and whose finest representative is found in her latest convert of all, — John Henry Newman.

Roger Bacon denounced the idea that philosophy and theology can be opposed to each other. True philosophy, he maintained, was included in the wisdom of God. His whole career is a striking example of the troubles which awaited those who asked questions out of the conventional line, and who sought for originality beyond the system of scholasticism.

Peter Lombard, who preceded Bacon, is another writer of this age of the Schoolmen whom we must briefly consider, since "The Sentences," which he wrote, has become a standard work of theology. Robertson writes of this work : "A service like that which Gratian had rendered to ecclesiastical law was performed for theology by Peter Lombard, a native of Novara ; who, after having long taught with great reputation at Paris, became Bishop of that city in 1159. The name of 'Sentences' had before been given to the collections of ancient authorities, which had been popular since the seventh century. Such a collection of opinions had been formed by Abelard, under the title of 'Yes and No,' with a view of exhibiting their contradictions ; but Peter Lombard, on the contrary, in his 'Four Books of Sentences,' aimed at harmonizing them.

He discusses questions down to those raised by Abelard. . . . The method which was observed in the work gave it the charm of novelty, while in substance it was intended to accord with antiquity; and it speedily obtained a great popularity." All the ecclesiastical historians stop and rest when they arrive at Peter Lombard. "The Sentences" was indeed the work of the Schoolman of the Schoolmen. The early Christian Fathers and Apologists are all put into the scholastic solution of syllogism; and Augustine and Basil and Gregory all reappear, crystallized with a technical encrusting of logic, which reminds one of the sophomore's logical practicings upon the family during the winter holidays. This is the criticism of Maurice: "It was a very critical moment in the history of European culture, not altogether unlike the one in individual life when the boy leaves the school-forms for a more elaborate and systematic course of instruction. . . . Peter Lombard belonged to what we may call the University age,—an age which had not begun in the days of Anselm, and which underwent great changes, if it may not be said to have passed into another, before the days of Aquinas."

After the career of Peter Lombard, and the circulation of his "Sentences," the universities began to feel the influence of the two great orders of the age,—the Franciscan and the Dominican. The rise of the mendicant orders showed that a new life was coming to the surface, and that common-sense was struggling with the intellectual conjuring of the hour. Christianity must mean life,—not alone thought.

With the advent of the thirteenth century came a new

peril, which almost destroyed the structure of scholasticism. Aristotle, the great syllogistic trellis over which their doctrinal speculations ran, was used by Averroes and the other Arabian sages. Aristotle, it was found, could be used in defence of the Koran, as formerly he had been used in the support of Christianity. Popes and cardinals frowned ! Cordova was using the very weapons of Rome ! Something must be done : scholasticism must be condemned !—when suddenly the old reasoned-out doctrine of the Incarnation, which had been an intricate rebus with Peter Lombard, became the great practical belief of the Franciscan friars ; and thus these very mendicants, by the practical turn they gave to the discussions of the day, became the unconscious protectors of learning and the saviors of society.

Then, when the tide was turned,—when Christianity practical, *plus* Aristotle, prevailed over Islamism, and the danger from the Saracenic *rénaissance* was a thing of the past,—the later Schoolmen, more confident than ever in the strength of their position, appeared. John of Salisbury and Roger Bacon, who chronologically belong to this second set, have already been mentioned.

The entire range of the Schoolmen, beginning with Boethius,—half Pagan, half Christian,—logically ended with Raymond Lully and Dante,—half Catholic, half Protestant. Raymond, in his mission among the Mahometans, in which he suffered martyrdom ; and Dante, in his exile-ship from Florence, and his flights into the other world,—ended, with their iconoclastic lives, this long stretch of the syllogistic period. For, look at the changed world ! Amer-

ica was to be opened ; the Reformation was to dawn ; the printing-press was at hand, — and thus, in the fulness of the times, the dusty parchments and folios of these doctors were to be laid by at last upon the shelves of the past.

But, before we close, we must notice this second group of Schoolmen ; for they stood, after all, at the height of the glory of this age. The first of these teachers, in this second group, was Albertus Magnus. In his zeal to restore Aristotle to his former position of headship, he studied most carefully his Saracenic expositors. So closely was he allied to the system of the old Greek philosopher, and so careful was he not to depart from his maxims and modes of expression, that he was called by those who came after him “the Ape of Aristotle.” Albert stands to his great successor Aquinas in something of the relationship of Ambrose to Augustine. Albert, though a Dominican monk, established a coterie of students at Cologne, among whom was a certain youth, whose stolid face and fixed expression induced his fellow-students to call him “the Ox.” “That ox,” replied Albert, “will make his lowings heard throughout Christendom.” And this is the way in which Thomas Aquinas was first known to the world.

Albert studied at Paris, and gloried in being considered the teacher and helper of Aquinas, before whose rising glory he was unselfishly willing to pale. Though made Bishop of Ratisbon, Albert never forgot the strictness of his mendicant vows ; he never outgrew his fatherly love for Aquinas, and his delight in his acknowledged greatness. Albert felt himself called upon to master the philosophical problems of the day. The story is, that the Virgin sec-

onded his efforts and approved of his resolution, and promised him her assistance: telling him, however, that an hour would come when her help would be taken from him, and he would be again a child.

Years afterwards, when he was an old man, on his way to Lyons to attend a council there, he became conscious, by some vision of second-sight, that Aquinas was dying at that moment. The event proved true; and soon afterwards, in the midst of a discourse, his mind left him, — his memory was gone: the sign of the Virgin was fulfilled, and his career was over. He died at Cologne, in 1280.

Albertus Magnus knew a great deal, upon many subjects, — ethics, metaphysics, physics, Platonism, nominalism, realism, mathematics, theology, and ontology; and his life and writings show us the result of scattering one's powers instead of condensing them. Broadening out upon many things, he became diffusive; while Aquinas strove for the specialty of theology, and condensed his life and efforts in that greatest of all theological works, the "*Summa Theologia*."

A knowledge of the life of Thomas Aquinas we must assume as the common property of Christendom. Every student of Church history is familiar with its brevity and its intensity. Dying at the early age of forty-eight, — when one looks at the mass of writings which he has left behind, the saying of his master, Albert, seems to be true, that he had "put an end to all labor, even to the world's end."

Robertson tells us that, "at the Council of Trent, nearly three hundred years after his death, the '*Summa*' was placed on the secretary's desk, beside the Holy Scriptures,

as containing the orthodox solution of all theological questions." He was canonized in 1323, and has, from that day on, been held in peculiar regard in the Roman Catholic Church, as ranking next after the four great doctors of the West. He is continually spoken of as the "angelical doctor," or simply the "Angelical." Dr. Vaughan's life of Thomas Aquinas — before referred to — is by far the clearest and fullest story of his life and times which has ever appeared. One can understand why a Roman Catholic author, such as this, glows with enthusiasm over the marvellous details of such a life; and he is a poor pedant who cannot join hands with his brethren of the Roman communion in rejoicing over this man, whom the King of all souls seems to have delighted to honor.

"Thou hast written well of me, Thomas: what reward wilt thou receive for thy labor?" These are the words of Christ to Thomas on his dying bed, according to the legend of his death.

"Lord," he answered, "I desire no other than thyself!"

One cannot read the life of this man without feeling that it shows a silent stock of reserve power, which marks the life with that same divine emphasis which we see in Augustine, or Francis Xavier, or Ignatius Loyola. The life spoke through the mind: not the mind alone by its own speculations. We pass over the conundrums of the "Summa," and the rebus-like questionings of the speculative atmosphere of the day, and rest in the powerful grasp which the Divine Mind made upon this nature, and which this nature made in return upon the world.

What Thomas was to the Dominicans, Duns Scotus was

to the Franciscans. Francis, Alexander of Hales, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon, — these were the lights of the Franciscan Order, and this was the order in which they came. All the philosophy of this thirteenth century is found in the two rival orders, — the Dominicans and the Franciscans. Thomas Aquinas was the acknowledged leader among the Dominicans. Bonaventura, and after him the erratic Duns, were the great teachers among the Franciscans. John of Fidanza — otherwise known by his conventual name of Bonaventura — was the representative of the meditative Franciscan, absorbed in devotion to the Virgin Mary, lost in the worship of the crucifix, and merged in the Nirvana of a perpetual séance of the Catholic infinite. His moral philosophizings all take a mystico-ecclesiastical turn. It is told of him that when Aquinas, on a visit to him, inquired for an opportunity of witnessing the books from which he had acquired so much learning, Bonaventura replied by pointing to a crucifix, — for Bonaventura was, after all, only a mild and meditative Italian. The other man, Duns Scotus, was the fighter. He was from Ireland. Ill luck betides his name! The name “Duns” is said by some to be taken from the place of his birth, — Dunse, in Scotland. John Duns Scotus, “the subtle doctor,” is his common name and title. Richardson says in his dictionary that the word Dunce “was first introduced by the Thomists, or disciples of Thomas Aquinas, in contempt towards their antagonists, the Scotists, or disciples of Duns Scotus, or John Scot of Dunse.” Trench, in his “Study of Words,” says: “At the revival of learning, some still clung to these old Schoolmen, and to one in

particular, — Duns Scotus, the great teacher of the Franciscan Order; and many times an adherent of the old learning would seek to strengthen his position by an appeal to its great doctor, familiarly called Duns: while the others would contemptuously rejoin, ‘Oh, you are a Dunsman!’ or, more briefly, ‘You are a Duns!’ or, ‘This is a piece of Duncery!’ and inasmuch as the new learning was ever enlisting more and more of the genius and scholarship of the age on its side, the title became more and more a term of scorn.”

Born in an Irish village, studying in Paris, educated at Oxford, the brilliant Celt appeared as a Patrick Redivivus, to drive out all the snakes of heresy, and to introduce a new race of speculative inhabitants. He fought the Dominicans, with their Augustinian tenets, and boldly avowed his Pelagian views as to man’s state by the Fall. At the same time, he far exceeded Bonaventura, his predecessor, in his zeal for the Virgin Mary, — maintaining the doctrine of the immaculate conception in an argument of two hundred distinct propositions. He led a brief but stirring life; and his death is lost in tradition. One of his followers, making a vile pun, declares that all about his life was “Scotus:” *σκότος*, — darkness. It certainly was enveloped in obscurity. Some maintain that he lived to be an old man of ninety; but the most of his chroniclers declare that he died at the disputed age of thirty-two, or thirty-five, or forty. The Franciscans of course exalted him. The jealous Dominicans detracted from him. Eventually, Thomas Aquinas became the sole authority of the latter order; while, after the death of Duns Scotus, it was decided in the councils

of the Franciscans that the decisions of the "subtle doctor" should be their final authority.

A Dominican detractor tells the story of Duns's death, as follows: For some awful crime, known only to God, while at Cologne he was allowed to fall into a swoon, and to be buried alive; and that he died in his struggles to burst open the lid of his coffin.

"Yes," replies a Franciscan admirer; "he died in a state of rapture; and his body couldn't help breaking the coffin-lid!"

Duns Scotus left more written works of the abstrusest kind than any other Schoolman. Subtle, as an Irishman only can know subtlety,—the master of the technical weapons of the age,—this man marked the high-water line of scholasticism, and banked-up on the side of the old learning, those intrenchments which we still look at, as a curiosity of by-gone modes of warfare. For, after him, came Roger Bacon, who died just in time to save himself from being burned; and then came the Lollards, and Wickliffe, and the new age and the new tongue,—and the age of the Schoolmen was over.

Taine's final criticism of this period we may remember; let us, however, recall it: "These young and valiant minds thought they had found the Temple of Truth; they rushed at it headlong, in legions,—breaking in the doors, clambering over the walls, leaping into the interior,—and so found themselves at the bottom of a moat. Three centuries of labor, at the bottom of this black moat, added not one idea to the human mind. *They seem to be marching, but are merely marking time.* People would say, to see

them moil and toil, that they will educe from heart and brain some great, original creed ; and yet all belief was imposed upon them from the outset. The system was made : they could only arrange and comment upon it."

With a new world discovered ; with new inventions and fresh instruments of power, both mechanical and mental, at hand ; with the rise of the people, and the dawn of the Reformation, — the world has turned from the age of the Schoolmen, as from some once-petted child, grown garrulous with premature old age, and paralyzed at that very period when the greatest strength should appear.

We call it a dark epoch, — and it was dark out of doors ; but it was bright enough within. In the universities and schools for the few, the shuttle of thought flew back and forth with a marvellous skill and rapidity ; but the people were unreformed, the masses were untouched, and there was no leverage found by which to raise them. Hence these abrupt chasms between knowledge and ignorance : hence these extremes of light and darkness.

The age of the Schoolmen was, on its philosophical side, the last effort of technical deduction. The decisions of the scholastic jurists, as quoted to-day in our common-law, show us this. These jurists were all deductive experts ; they never invented any new lines of arriving at a conclusion. Analogy was unknown ; the inductive method was considered "Dangerous passing: town not liable;" and thus the old iteration went endlessly on.

On its theological side, however, the age of the Schoolmen was the last effort of asceticism to capture Christianity. We see this in the way in which the rival

mendicant orders—the Franciscans and Dominicans—absorbed all the mental, moral, and spiritual forces of the period. Every thought and feeling and act which was of any worth, or which had any life in it, was ruthlessly swept, as by some mammoth fan, over the smooth barn-floor of the period, into the yawning hopper of the scholastic instrument, where the ponderous millstones kept grinding every species of grain into oneness of flour.

But when the new age came, with its new world, and its new tongue, and its new inventive spirit, the old conundrums and the old ways of finding out the puzzles satisfied no longer; for Christianity, like Christ the Teacher, was past the period when the boy-mind was busy with the doctors, “both hearing them and asking them questions.”

The Age of the Schoolmen is past. Yet now and then a loiterer in the temple appears, longing for the old methods. Jonathan Edwards was the Schoolman of Puritanism; but where are his followers to-day? For “if any man speak in an unknown tongue, let one interpret. But if there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church; and let him speak to himself, and to God” (1 Cor. xiv. 27, 28).

III.

SAVONAROLA.

THERE are certain places in the world which affect us in the way that some old strain of music does, as it brings the light of other days around us. We always associate the music and the place together: the one invariably suggests the other. Florence is one of these marked places. . We always think of Dante and Tasso and Savonarola, when we think of that charming city. There is Dante's empty tomb, for his body still reposes at Ravenna; and there is Savonarola's cell, and Tasso's home, — and their checkered history is indissolubly linked with that of the fair city itself. There has always been something strangely suggestive about Italian Reformers. They have loved their country with a Southern vehemence which, for the most part, has insured for them while living the fiercest persecution; but when they have passed away, the sons of those who stoned the prophets seem as if they could not gather costly stones enough with which to honor their once banished names. As Lord Byron says in *Childe Harold*, —

“Ungrateful Florence! Dante sleeps afar,
Like Scipio, buried by the upbraiding shore;
Thy factions in their worse than civil war
Proscribed the bard, whose name for evermore
Their children's children would in vain adore,
With the remorse of ages!”

There is no one who did more for his native city and his national church than the great religious and political reformer, Savonarola; and there is no one who suffered greater indignities at the hands of his fellow-citizens than he. His native historians and his own letters have portrayed to posterity his strange character and career; and the greatest of living novelists, in one of her most striking works, has painted for us, in a Shakspearian manner, the person and surroundings of Savonarola as seen through the history of Romola. Tito Melema in his Greek atheistic selfishness, the old Father in his richer philosophical Paganness, Romola in her aspirations after truth and duty, and the impassioned Friar with his visions and revelations from the Lord, all help to make very true and very vivid the varied personelle of the period.

The elements found in the Florence of Savonarola's history are exactly those of George Eliot's story. Lorenzo de Medici was then at the height of his fame and power, when Savonarola came to Florence. Fêtes, dances, masquerades, and tournaments occupied continually the gay and restless thoughts of the Florentines. The past of liberty and all the State troubles seemed to be forgotten in the deliciousness of Epicureanism. It was like the Rome of Augustus, — full of past heroisms and present sensuous delights. The towers of the palaces, and the rich mellifluous bells that in other days called the hostile clans of the city to their rallying points for the street conflict, now only rang forth the invitation to the dance or the Saturnalia. Lorenzo, with the wits and artists who lived in the smile of his favors, honored art and culture in all

its forms, and did his utmost to make Florence the gay metropolis of Europe, as Napoleon III. so effectually did with Paris. Women were versed in Latin and Greek; questions of architecture, painting, music, sculpture, were the familiar topics of conversation in the streets; and all Florence was one broad belt of connoisseurship. Artists were petted and wheedled in the way in which popular actors are treated now-a-days. Poets were honored, and philosophers dealt out their neat and popular little systems in an elegant and finished manner. The traditionalism of the Church bound the leaders of the State to the old régime of Papal Rome; but religion at the best was a thing of ceremonial form, and was, to those who thought most upon the subject, an open question. The remark of Pope Leo X., that, "after all, the fable about Jesus Christ was a grand stairway to power," described completely the opinion of the Medicean Court. They clung to the hierarchy of Rome as one of the established facts of the period: but it was only taken because it was found ready to hand; not because it or its teachings were in any way believed.

Into this cultured but corrupt city of Florence, given up to the idolatry of art, and with no true belief in the outlying doctrines of Christianity, the young Savonarola came.

Lorenzo reigned from the year 1469 to 1492, and Savonarola first appeared in public as a preacher and reforming prophet in the year 1482, — ten years before the discovery of America by Columbus. He was the third of seven children, and was early devoted by his admiring parents

to the service of the State and the profession of arms. At Ferrara, his native place, he witnessed the celebrated military pageants of his time, — especially a very celebrated reception to the then reigning Pope Pius II., better known in history as Æneas Piccolomini. But his mind was not in his surroundings and their sensuous splendor. Already he had read Plato and Aristotle, and that master of Christian philosophy, Thomas Aquinas. A brief but intense passion for a black-eyed Florentine girl, a daughter of a noble family, which ended in a rejected suit, drove him finally to that step which but for his secret love he would have taken before, and he ran away from his father's house and entered the convent of St. Dominic, at Bologna. Here he remained for seven years, refusing every entreaty from his ambitious parents to go back again to the gay world, and working his way from the most menial avocations of the conventual life to the highest position of influence. Never did Moses in the desert, or St. Paul in Arabia, ponder over his life's call more intensely and devoutly than did Savonarola in his seven years' novitiate.

His fastings and prayers were the wonder of the convent. He could be seen, hour after hour, walking up and down the cloister way; moving like a shadow, rapt in inward meditation, until at times it was supposed he was in a trance. In appearance, he was of a dark complexion, of middle stature, with a nervous sensitive temperament. His piercing eyes were overarched by heavy black eyebrows. The medallions and pictures represent him with the thick curved lips so common among Italian ecclesiastics, and with a hooked and peaked nose and heavy

tattoo-like lines along the face, like the face of Dante, — partly feminine, and partly of a general unsatisfied aspect. If genius, as it has been said, impresses upon the face of a man something of the feminine type of countenance, and if Nature never throws away a nose, — then Savonarola had in his appearance the feminineness of genius, and that nose which never takes its place upon the human face in vain. There is a picture of John Henry Newman which resembles to some degree the peculiar features of this Italian monk. The curved lips, the hooked nose, the womanly lines of the face — somehow with a motherly look about it — are common to them both.

In 1482, after having gone about the neighborhood of Ferrara to preach, the young monk was sent to Florence, and settled at the convent of St. Mark. Here for the first time since his youth and his love-troubles, he touched the giddy world of Italy again. Lorenzo de Medici was still on the crest of popularity; art was still every thing to the people; the æsthetic philosophy of the period still loved to bandy back and forth the opposite systems of Realism and Nominalism, — of spirit and of matter, as represented by Plato and Aristotle. The crimes of the Popes — the simony and nepotism and shameless immoralities, which culminated in the monstrous career of Alexander Borgia — were already familiar subjects to the circles of the élite.

If ever there was a need in the history of the world for a prophet and a reformer, this was the age and time, given over entirely as it was to Italian immorality, gilded with the Parisian-like culture of Pagan sentiment and art. Here he found even the preachers mere court rhetori-

cians, versed in the arts of pleasing their audiences, but without any actual belief in the verities of their faith, or the necessity of their ethics. Few of the priests ever read the Bible, because the Latin was incorrect. Cardinal Bembo wrote to a certain student, "Do not read St. Paul's Epistles, that such a barbarous style may not corrupt your tastes." These court flatterers, like the clergy of Thackeray's stories of Queen Anne's reign, lived in the smile and favor of the reigning house, and seemed to care naught for any higher power. When Savonarola first began to preach at Florence, he was laughed at by the wealthy ecclesiastics as a scatter-brained fanatic. Even the members of his order tried in vain to induce him to change his style, and told him he could never expect to rival the famous Genazzano, the idol of Florence, whose every sentence was a study and a marvel of elegance and grace. To this the young monk replied, "Elegance of language must give way before simplicity, in preaching the truth." It was in the Lent of 1486 that he first startled the people of Lombardy, through whose towns he was sent out to preach, by taking up as the subject of his sermons the war-cry of Church reform: "The Church will be scourged and then regenerated, and this quickly." This was his motto, — his oft-recurring prophecy. He made the history of the Hebrews, in their successive sins and rebellions and punishments, the type and image of corrupt and rebellious Italy; and he declared the avenging hand of the Almighty would very speedily show itself.

Soon after this, at Brescia, where he had been picturing to the crowds which flocked to hear him the impending

ruin of that city, as foretold in the prophetic imagery of the Revelation of St. John, the cruel soldiers of the marauding Gaston de Foix — a perfect wild boar of Ardennes, such as Scott describes in “*Quentin Durward*” — butchered six thousand persons in the streets. Then the fame of Savonarola — the prophet of the Lord, the reformer of morals, the priest of righteousness — spread far and near, and all Italy wanted to see and hear this revived Elijah and do him homage.

About this time it was that he met, at a conference of friends and philosophers and literati, the celebrated Prince Pico, — a marvel of intellectual attainment, — and formed a life-long attachment to this young, pure-minded noble. At his urgent solicitation, Lorenzo recalled Savonarola to Florence, just as he would have brought some curious specimen of art from Egypt or Greece; and from that day the pulpit of the great Duomo was the monk’s rostrum. Plato was put aside; the immoral frivolities were kept decently out of sight; the court preachers took up their books of rhetoric and went to more congenial quarters; and Savonarola, in effect, ruled Florence, through the teachings of the pulpit. The preaching of the period was of two kinds.

First, there were the stately rhetoricians of the court, who were the personification of courtly elegance; and, secondly, there were the grotesque preachers of the market-place, who preached to the crowds after the melodramatic manner of the miracle-plays.

When Savonarola became Prior of St. Mark’s, and preached at the Duomo, the power of both these other

extremes passed away, and they were forgotten and unheeded in the all-prevailing moral earnestness of the recalled Dominican.

It was about this time that he wrote his principal tracts and dissertations, and brought to light his 'confused and metaphysical system of interpreting the Scriptures. By his peculiar system of Biblical exegesis, he found in almost every passage of Scripture four methods of interpretation: the spiritual, the moral, the allegorical, and the anagogical.

Villari, in his explanation of Savonarola's system, says:

"For instance, let us take the first verse in Genesis: 'In the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth.' The spiritual sense here refers to the spirit; hence heaven and earth signify soul and body. The moral sense in its turn refers to morals; hence heaven and earth meant reason and instinct. The allegorical sense had a double meaning. It refers to the history of the Hebrew Church or the Christian Church. In the first sense, heaven and earth represented Adam and Eve; the sun and the earth signified the high-priest and the king of the Hebrew people. In the second sense, they signified the elected people and the people of the Gentiles, — the Pope and the Emperor. The anagogical, or higher mysterious sense, refers to the Church triumphant: and hence heaven, earth, sun, moon, and stars signified the angels, men, Jesus Christ, the Virgin, the Saints, &c."

In this way, Savonarola found in the Bible a confirmation of all the thoughts, all the inspirations, all the prophecies that arose in his own mind.

But the great work of his life was his defence of the Christian religion, known as "The Triumph of the Cross." This book is one of the wonders of religious literature. That a Dominican monk in the period of the Middle Ages

should conceive such a defence of Christianity, without building it upon the traditionalism of past authority, is a wonder; and that it should be written in a style which makes it appear as a work of to-day, without any of the cumbrous pedantry or artificialness of the times, is a greater wonder still. It is unlike Savonarola's times, and unlike his other writings. But it was the darling work of his life, and was only finished a short time before his death.

It consists of four books: the first contends for the existence of God and the soul's immortality; the second maintains the distinctively Christian doctrines of the Church; the third defends the reasonableness of Christianity with the soul's ulterior belief in God; and the fourth is devoted to the subject of the ecclesiastical system as the exponent of existing Christian power. It is a sort of Butler's "Analogy" before the time of Bishop Butler.

By this time, through the fostering care of Cosmo and Pietro and Lorenzo de Medici, Florence had become a revived Athens. Savans from the East had brought from the ruins of Constantinople, before it yielded to the Turks, the choice treasures of that city. It was said that all that now was wanting was the statues of the gods; and that even these Lorenzo was seriously thinking of establishing by a ducal decree. But just then word came from Savonarola, in the convent of St. Mark, saying, "Beware!" and Lorenzo took the hint and desisted from his plan.

After this there came a break between them; and Savonarola refused to go through the ceremony of asking for the Duke's favor; declaring that he had received his

office from God, not from Lorenzo. Then followed honors, gifts, offers of money, position, every thing, in fact, an ecclesiastic's ambition could crave, provided the Prior of St. Mark's would not aim such merciless shafts from the pulpit at the reigning House, or foretell such a gloomy future. Savonarola's only reply to the distinguished embassy was: "Tell your master to repent of his sins, and not to think about my banishment; for though I am a poor stranger and he a great duke, I shall remain and he must soon depart."

Very soon after this Lorenzo was taken sick; and on his death-bed sent for Savonarola, to make his confession to him, and receive the monk's absolution. Savonarola demanded of him three things:—

First, he must have a decided faith in Jesus Christ. This Lorenzo said he had.

Second, he must give back those things which he had unjustly gained. This he said he would do, — putting it down in his will.

Thirdly, said the monk, you must restore to Florence her republican liberties. This the dying man was unprepared to do; and so, turning from him, Savonarola went back to his convent, and the miserable Lorenzo died unabsolved.

The news of Savonarola's prophecy of Lorenzo's death spread like wild-fire among the restless, superstitious Italians; and he became an acknowledged prophet of the times. During this period, he had been working most earnestly to reform the monastic system and the general condition of the Church. This brought him face to face with the existing state of affairs in the government; and in this way

it happened that his calendar of reform spread outward from the reformation of the monastery to the Florentine State. The Florence of the fifteenth century was the great metropolis of Italy. Merchant-princes and bankers made it the great business centre of the world; and the clustering associations of the fine arts and literature, as we have seen, gave it a leading position among the great educational centres of Europe. The government at the close of the fourteenth century was democratic in character, and consisted of a council of three hundred men. There were two classes, — the Signori and the Gonfalonieri. These met in the public palace of the people, with their president at their head. This simple, easy manner of popular government, however, had by degrees given way under the gradual rise of the Medicean family, and an informal but practical dukedom had taken its place. This autocracy had been suffered under Giovanni and Coruno de Medici, and the brilliancy and splendor of Lorenzo's rule made the people forget their inherent democratic liberties. This is what Savonarola meant, when he demanded as the third condition of Lorenzo's confession, before absolution could be granted him, that he should restore to Florence her liberties.

Lorenzo was succeeded by his son Pietro, an ambitious, uncultured ruler, whose one aim seemed to be to join Florence to some of the other surrounding dukedoms, or to Naples, and thus to swell himself up into the proportions of a king. Savonarola soon detected this, and began to prophesy the speedy downfall of the Medicean family. In thirteen sermons in Lent, on the subject of Noah's ark,

he declared that the floods of divine vengeance would sweep over Italy; that the sword of the Lord would be unsheathed, — “*Gladius Domini super terram cito et velociter.*” He declared that an avenger would bring his wrathful army over the Alps, and that the hand of the Lord would sustain him as he opened the way before Cyrus, his servant of old.

Still the people went on in their gayeties, until the army of Charles VIII. appeared in Italy only a few months after Savonarola’s prophecy. Taking possession of Naples, it advanced on Florence. The Medici were summarily expelled; but Pietro, being captured, promised to deliver up his castles to Charles, and to give him his treasures in Florence.

The wildest excitement prevailed within the city when the news of Pietro’s treachery was made known, and Savonarola was sent out to make better terms with the French king. This he succeeded in doing; and, by his recitals of prophecy and his talk as an anointed reformer of the Lord, so moved Charles that he granted very easy terms; and, after visiting Florence as a guest instead of a conqueror, he went over the Alps again to Paris.

After this Savonarola’s influence at Florence was unbounded. A new government was formed, which was in effect a theocracy. Christ was to be the only monarch; a general forgiveness of political enemies was to take place; and thirty-two hundred citizens formed themselves into a general council, who, by lot, in instalments of six months at a time, represented the general assembly as its executive body.

Here, then, not exalting himself or his priestly order, was a monk ruling a republic of Europe, which but a short time before was a principality, governed by an aristocratic noble. He was seen continually among the poor; the money that was sent to him was systematically spent in relieving the wretched; and the pulpit of his cathedral was his throne and rostrum of power. Florence crowded to hear him preach and lecture, as he allegorized out of the Bible to suit the existing state of political affairs.

So great was the revival of morality and religion after the bewildering intoxication of Lorenzo's pleasures and amusements in Florence, that fasting became common, meat was unbought in the markets, the theatres drooped, gambling was no longer seen in taverns, and gay Florence began to take on the quiet soberness of a Puritan commonwealth. The custom in Florence of burning cherished treasures towards the end of the carnival season became a religious epidemic; and children with white dresses and garlanded with olive-branches on their heads, went through the city demanding books, pictures, poems, dice, cards, dream-books, false hair, musical instruments, and such things as these, which they burned in monstrous piles, singing and chanting psalms, until their bonfires of vanity, as they were called, were consumed.

Then, after turning his mind to the system of the education of the children of Florence, Savonarola began to write and preach about the abuses of the Church at Rome. At last the tidings of his reforms reached the ears of the Papal Court. The infamous Alexander VI. (Borgia) silently presented Savonarola with a cardinal's

hat, on the hush-money principle, which was instantly refused. Hereupon Savonarola was urgently invited to visit Rome ; but, bearing in mind the castle of St. Angelo and its dark surroundings, he declined the invitation.

Then the controversy between the Pope and the monk began ; and the stern reformer was slowly but surely dragged down into the intricate and cruel machinery of that remorseless engine, the Church of Rome ; and was at last crushed by it, — as those who went before him and came after him were crushed : as all were crushed who came into collision with it, from the time of Jerome of Prague and John Huss, to Father Lacordaire and Père Hyacinthe.

When at last he found that he was in the midst of the long-dreaded conflict with the power at Rome, Savonarola took a bold step, which hurried on the final crisis. He petitioned the kings of Spain and of France, and the emperor of Germany, to summon a General Council to try its hand on the reforms of the Church. When this was known at Rome, through a spy, the Pope ordered the monastery of St. Mark's, at Florence, to be broken up, and forbade Savonarola to preach. He remained quiet for a while ; but at last his spirit could refrain no longer, and he appeared again in his old pulpit of the cathedral. Then the Pope demanded of the Council of Florence that he should be given up ; but it was in vain.

Meantime the rival Franciscan monks, jealous of the fame of the Dominicans through the wonderful influence of this man, their head, joined with the discontented young nobles and Medicean followers who had been satirizing the

late reforms, and were already plotting for the return of the family of Pietro.

At a preconcerted signal, — the throwing of an alms-box in the cathedral, — an armed attack was made on him while he was preaching; but the monks of St. Mark's rushed round him and fought from the pulpit-steps with the fierceness of tigers, and carried him off in triumph to the convent, crying out, curiously enough, the battle-cry of the Scotch reformers, "Long live Jesus, our King!" After this, Alexander threatened the entire city with an interdict; and a fearful plague which followed, and in which thousands died, was looked upon as a judgment for resisting the successor of St. Peter. Savonarola's enemies, too, demanded that, if he was in reality a prophet, he should do the work of a prophet, and perform a miracle to stop the plague. At this juncture, one of the Dominican monks — Domenico da Peschia — engaged in a controversy with the Franciscans, in which the latter declared the only way to settle the matter as to who was right was by an ordeal of fire. The Dominican monk accepted the challenge; the people caught it up, glad of this strange termination of the controversy, and the council decided that it should take place.

Savonarola at once regretted the acceptance of the challenge by Domenico, and tried to have the matter stopped; but it was too late. The people were clamorous for the decision by fire; and at last, like Saul before the battle of Mount Gilboa, with his faith in himself and his surroundings, and in his past inspirations, all gone, Savonarola in despair accepted the issue. But he tried to put on the appearance of unconcern, and piled up the natural

difficulties in the way in order to consume time. Finally, in the market-place two wooden scaffolds were built, fifty feet in length. Each was reeking with oil and pitch. When they both were lighted, straight through the narrow passage-way between them, the two monks were to walk in a surging mass of flame, and Heaven would show which was the victorious one, which was to redeem his order and live through the trial.

At the hour appointed, the monks of St. Mark's appeared with Savonarola at their head, and Domenico, the champion of the Dominicans, dressed like a victim for the sacrifice. They came up to the narrow passage-way chanting the 68th Psalm, — "Exurgat Deus et dissipetur inimici ejus."

Then it was declared by the Franciscans that their champion should not engage in the struggle so long as Domenico had on the dress of the Dominicans, since it might have been enchanted by Savonarola. When this dress was laid aside, it was decided that Domenico should lay aside the crucifix, which he did. Then they said he must not carry with him the consecrated host, for fear of harm to it. Then there followed a controversy as to whether the sacred host could possibly be consumed; and it was finally decided that the friars might be burned, but the wafer could not perish. Then, just as the attendants were lighting up the blazing, crackling pile, an order came from the Signori that the trial should be given up, and each party went home declaring they alone were victorious.

The dramatic sequence to this strange story is a plain record, familiar to every student of Church history. Sa-

vonarola was arrested in his convent by orders from Rome ; and after a cruel torture, in which he confessed every thing his torturers put in his mouth, and admitted, when human endurance could stand it no longer, that he was a perjurer and impostor, he was hung with two of his companions.

His courage stood by him to the last. After the reception of the Mass in the prison, they walked to the place of execution, where Savonarola watched his two friends drop from the high gibbet into the blazing fire below them ; and then, with an undaunted heart, silently followed them. It is said that, as Savonarola's body swung back and forth in the flames, the cord which bound his hands behind him became loosened, and his right hand spasmodically raised itself as if in the accustomed act of blessing. This, and the strong wind which kept the flames from touching the dead bodies of the monks, were considered as omens of Savonarola's sanctity ; and the fickle people, who had seen that form so often in the pulpit, scattered in superstitious horror, and left the scene in tears.

This was the only vindication of his life Savonarola ever had ; and even this came too late for him to see it.

The one question asked about the short and striking career of Savonarola, — for he was only forty-four years old when he died, — is this : was he sincere, or was he an impostor ?

In a certain sense he was both ; for while he was true in his belief, he was false in his methods, and no doubt came at the last to resort to his visions and prophecies as a sort of religious enginery, by which to lift the people

and swing them round to a corresponding belief in his plans and efforts. Carlyle, in his "Hero-worship," in speaking of Napoleon, says that he was great and successful until the charlatan element gained the upper hand in him, and he came round to a belief in the dupability of men ; and then adds, "Alas, in all of us this charlatan element exists, and might be developed were the temptation strong enough. — 'Lead us not into temptation !' Having once parted with reality, he tumbles helpless in vacuity ; no help for him. He had to sink there, mournfully as man seldom did, and break his great heart and die."

So it was with Savonarola and his belief in visions ; so it was with Edward Irving and his belief in prophetic tongues. That which at first was a reality in the man's own subjective experience became an outward means to a desired end, — a part of a system, — and it could not stand the rough test of the curious world.

The man set out with a pure and true aim : he wanted to be a reformer. He used the legitimate means which came in his way ; and then, when he found the people took him as a prophet, and that he could influence them best by his reputation as a prophet, he had to go on using this as a means to the end. He came into Florence in the midst of a splendor of culture never before equalled. With this as a background, he brought out clearly and majestically to light the great underlying realities of the Christian faith. His influence was very marked. He was almost worshipped, and was lifted high into the fickle lap of power. Success crowned every thing he did ; and perhaps he was true and sincere to the very end. If he was

sincere, then like some of the anomalies of history, — like John Brown of Harper's Ferry, — he was a religious fanatic. But it is not often that we see such method with such madness ; such wisdom with a crazed brain.

Whatever be the key to Savonarola's character and his strange career, this much at least we can say for him : he made, in the midst of Pagan culture, the religion of Christ the ruling power of the State. He governed from the pulpit, wisely and well, a luxurious and epicurean people. His reforms were all honest and unselfish in their character. If he was sincere in his own visions all the way to the end, then he was crazed ; and, on the other hand, if he was not crazed, then he must have relied on his former reputation as a prophet to wield the once powerful influence which he could not allow himself to give up. The miracles of Mahomet, the visions of Swedenborg, the utterances of Irving, all show us how difficult it is to draw the line between that which is wilful imposture and temperament, or intuitiveness.

The goodly fellowship of the prophets has been since the world began ; but it is not always that the voice crying in the wilderness, and speaking because it must speak, is one with the voice in the council-chamber, speaking because it has an end to serve. "Nevertheless, the foundation of God standeth sure, having his seal. The Lord knoweth them that are his."

IV.

EDWARD IRVING.

IT is one of the many strange positions which the philosopher Buckle has taken, that, in the history of civilization in Europe, Spain and Scotland stand conspicuous as countries which have been essentially priest-ridden in character. "Both nations," he writes, "have allowed their clergy to exercise immense sway, and both have submitted their actions as well as their consciences to the authority of the Church. As a natural consequence, in both countries intolerance has been and still is a crying evil ; and, in matters of religion, a bigotry is habitually displayed discreditable indeed to Spain, but far more discreditable to Scotland, which has produced many philosophers of the highest eminence, who would willingly have taught the people better things, but who have vainly attempted to remove from the national mind that serious blemish which mars its beauty and tends to neutralize its many other admirable qualities. Herein lies the apparent paradox and the real difficulty of Scotch history : that knowledge should not have produced the effects which have elsewhere followed it ; that a bold and inquisitive literature should be found in a grossly superstitious country, without diminishing its superstition ; that the people should constantly

withstand their kings, and as constantly succumb to their clergy ; that while they are liberal in politics, they should be illiberal in religion, — and that, as a natural consequence of all this, men who, in the visible and external department of facts and of practical life, display a shrewdness and a boldness rarely equalled, should nevertheless, in speculative life and in matters of theory, tremble like sheep before their pastors, and yield assent to every absurdity they hear, provided their church has sanctioned it. That these discrepancies should coexist seems at first a strange contradiction, and is surely a phenomenon worthy of our careful study.”

In his lectures on the Scottish Church, delivered in Edinburgh, in 1872, Dean Stanley refutes this charge ; and, in that picturesque manner which is so peculiarly his own, brings to the front a long succession of men who combined the deep religious sentiment which Buckle admits, and the spirit of independence which he admires, with a just and philosophic moderation which, had he known, he could not have failed to admit and to admire equally.

Scottish ecclesiastical history, because of its ruggedness and because of its canyness, is as teeming with interest to the theological student as its secular history is to the youthful reader of “*Tales of a Grandfather*,” or the *Waverley Novels*. It all seems like a rich and glowing game of chess, in which one’s intensest sympathy is aroused. From the days of the Black Douglass and the Red Comyn ; from the crash and the shock of Macduff and his followers in the green boughs of Dunsinane around the doomed castle of Macbeth ; from the adventures of Mary, and the death of Rizzio ; from Cardinal Beaton, and the gloom of

Bannockburn, to the days of the Tulchan Bishops and the fiery expulsion of Edward Irving from a church which was itself the child of revolution,—this same red-hot Scotch earnestness runs. Kings, Queens, Knights, and Pawns, of every sort and description, move over the board of its history, and are continually checked and taken. We are familiar with this peculiar exhibition of Scottish spirit, not only through Scott's historical romances, but by a late inundation of stories of quiet domestic life, from the pens of Edward Garrett, Norman McLeod, and George McDonald.

The heat radiating over a kitchen stove, and the storm-currents circling the globe, as they get the set of their motion over the heated equator, are in principle precisely the same, though the one field is somewhat more contracted than the other. And on the same principles and on the same plane, the volcanic, explosive Scotch nature shows itself in the strifes of the Church as in those of the State. It is as much wrought up in low as in high life,—whether it be the poor sergeant with his dead boy's starling, which would sing songs on the holy Sabbath, thereby causing a scandal and a row in the parish,—as Norman McLeod has pictured it in that best of his Scotch stories, "The Starling,"—or whether it be Jenny Geddes hurling the stool at the Dean, in Saint Giles' Church, on the day when the Prayer-book was introduced, and extinguishing that liturgy for a whole century as she exclaimed, confounding the words, "collect for the day," with something about colic: "The de'il warm the colic in thee!"

Into this stormy yet most attractive region of ecclesiastical history let us enter, and consider the character, career, and writings of that strangely-conspicuous figure, Edward Irving. He seems like one of the colossal statues of Egypt,—a Rameses, gigantic indeed, but fallen and broken; or an isolated Memnon, once tuneful with inspiration and hope, but now silent and Sphinx-like and forsaken.

The man himself is so attractive; the movement stands in ecclesiastical history as such an enigma; and the verdict of his church and nation is so peculiarly Scottish,—that the entire subject is most inviting to those who will lift the latch-string and enter.

Edward Irving appeared upon the platform of the Scottish Church at the time when the early fame of Dr. Chalmers was slowly and surely rising to a higher eminence, and when the Free Church of Scotland was in its infancy. Chalmers, we know, had been blessed with all the surroundings and experiences which were calculated to give him the very strongest kind of influence. Born in the middle class of the Scotch nation; his parents firm Calvinistic Presbyterians; his youth falling within the period of the ecclesiastical experiment of Moderatism; a vigorous writer and thinker; first a member of what Richard Holt Hutton calls "The Hard Church,"—he afterwards reacted from his scientific pursuits, from the ebbing-tide of humanitarian moderatism, and from the minute dogmatism of the bony-fish theology about him, into the strong, loving power of a truly evangelical grasp of faith. This inward, second conversion of maturity, and this reaction from those cross-

current extremes,—the drift of mere sentiment and the drift of mere dogma,—gave him that balance and sureness St. Paul loved to speak of, when he quotes from the prophet Isaiah that favorite text of his, “He that believeth shall not make haste.”

Into the constant presence and under the far-reaching shadow of this great teacher of the day, the gushing, awkward, tender, inexperienced Irving entered. Straight from the countrified boorishness of the far-off little town of Annan, this tall, shuffling, cross-eyed young Scotchman came, to be the assistant of him who was working in Glasgow like a second Calvin in Geneva; who was known throughout the English-speaking world by his astronomical sermons, which in one year’s time had run through nine editions, each twenty thousand copies; and who, by his wise spiritual dictatorship, in his marvellous administration of the congregation of Glasgow, in the establishment of home missions for the masses, and in the final creation of the Free Church of Scotland, stood modestly, yet with primitive dignity, at the very head of that Church and nation over which, in the days of the Reformation, John Knox was the acknowledged Protestant Pope. Thus it was that, under the shadow of Chalmers’s greatness, the young Irving became known,—preaching for him upon wet and stormy afternoons, and taking the least interesting engagements; and in every way beginning at that lowest round of ministerial labor, contained in the faithful discharge of an assistant’s duties,—duties whose surroundings often are not joyous but grievous, but which afterwards tell, as their experiences are ground into the untempered edge of raw,

unchecked zeal. How strange the contrast between the maledictions, savoring rather of strength than of holiness, which were mentally and inaudibly pronounced upon this unconscious young assistant, as from time to time he occupied Dr. Chalmers's pulpit in Glasgow, and the unwilling congregation of London, — among whom were Canning, Wilkie, Carlyle, Coleridge, Zachary Macaulay, Charles Lamb, and others, — who thronged the building only to hang upon the words of Irving in the after-days of his greatness, wondering why the now waning Chalmers could be so bold as to supply his former assistant's place for a Sunday, and refusing to hear the voice of this once powerful charmer, charm he never so wisely !

And now, in what is to be said upon this subject, I shall arrange the material before us in these four parts :—

1. The life and character of Irving.
2. The quality of his writings.
3. His influence in the movement known as Irvingism.
4. The subsequent history of this sect, known as the Catholic Apostolic Church.

1. We begin, then, with his life. Edward Irving was born on the 4th of August, 1792, — that darkening year, when all Europe was watching infuriated France, going mad in the wild license of her Revolution. Away off, on the Solway Frith, very near the town cross, in the little town of Annan, this child was born, the second in a family of eight children. His father was a tanner by trade, a Whig in politics, and a devoted member of the Kirk. Under influences which are familiar to us from the many late stories of Scottish religious life, this child was reared. At thirteen,

he began his studies at Edinburgh University ; and after this, partially by teaching, and partially by other help, he went on for five years, studying divinity : matriculating regularly, and going through the necessary examinations. It was at this time that Carlyle saw him for the first time, and describes him as follows : “ The first time I saw Irving was in his native town of Annan ; he was fresh from Edinburgh with college prizes, high character and promise. We heard from him of famed professors, of high matters classical and mathematical, — a whole wonder-land of knowledge ; nothing but joy, health, hopefulness without end, looked out from the blooming young man.”

He was also described at this time by another person as “ a showy young man,” — a tendency always held in abhorrence by the sober Scotch imagination, which above all things admires the gift of reticence. After an experience as teacher in the town of Kirkcaldy, upon the Frith of Forth, he received his license to preach, and occasionally supplied the place of Dr. Martin, the minister. But he had a hard time of it, and got no credit and very little encouragement in what he still hoped was his real vocation. The people said he had “ ower muckle grandeur ;” and Mrs. Oliphant, in her life of him, describes the congregations as being very thin, when it was known young Irving was to preach in that very church in which, years afterwards, a dreadful accident occurred, owing to the breaking away of the crowded galleries, filled with these same towns-people, who pressed in to hear the famous London preacher.

Then followed the Glasgow experience. Here he was only an unordained probationer, — not in any sense even a

curate, but only a helper to the already overburdened Chalmers. There are many stories of the strange impression he here made in his new field. There seems to have been something about his presence which was strangely commanding,—an unction or weird glamour that was the most essential witchery. One lady in Dr. Chalmers's congregation, who told her servant to say she was "engaged" when visitors called, was met by her domestic, saying, "There's a wonderful grand gentleman down stairs; I could na say you were engaged to him,—he maun be a Highland chief." Another thought he was a leader of brigands; while still a third said, "*That* Dr. Chalmers's assistant! I took him for a cavalry officer." "Whatever they say of him, they never think him like any thing but a leader of men," was yet another verdict upon him. At last, with prophetic words whose full meaning at the time he but little realized, he took his leave of Glasgow with the following words: "God above doth know my destiny; but though it were to minister in the halls of nobles, and the courts and palaces of kings, He can never find for me more natural welcome, more kindly entertainment, and more refined enjoyment than He hath honored me with in this manufacturing city. My theology was never in fault around the fires of the poor, my manner never misinterpreted, my good intentions never mistaken. Churchmen and Dissenters, Catholics and Protestants, received me with equal graciousness. Here was the popularity worth the having; whose evidences are not in noise and ostentation and numbers, but in the heart opened and disburdened, in the flowing tear, the confided secret, the parting grasp, and the entreaty to return. Of this popu-

larity I am covetous ; and God in his goodness hath granted it in abundance, with which I desire to be content."

We next behold Irving established in the very heart of London, settled over the little Caledonian Chapel, which would only accommodate about six hundred persons. Sir James Mackintosh and Canning having quoted, in the House of Commons, Irving's eloquence and ability to maintain his church, as an instance of the possibility of church-revenues without state aid and patronage, a flood of noble and fashionable hearers began to pour in upon the little chapel in Hatton Garden. From this time on,—through the conflict about Christ's nature, and the strife about the miraculous gift of tongues, all the way to his trial and deposition, and to his sudden death,—through the wildness and bitterness of his famous ecclesiastical trial,—his dominant popularity never waned. The poet Keats says, in his "Endymion," in a vivid picture of the superficial and unworthy Agamemnon-like king of men :—

" There are who lord it o'er their fellow-men
With most prevailing tinsel ; with not one tinge
Of sanctuary splendor, not a sight
Able to face an owl's, they still are dight
By the blear-eyed nations in empurpled vests
And crowns and turbans."

But here was a man who was able, to the very last, to "lord it o'er his fellow-men," by most prevailing unction, and most undoubted power.

After this, we find him very frequently visiting Coleridge at Highgate,—an intercourse which was full of kindness on the part of the philosopher, and reverence and respect

on the part of the preacher. The first exhibition we have of any decided mental eccentricity is in his famous missionary sermon. Having been requested by the London Missionary Society to preach an anniversary sermon, he complied, before thinking very much what this promise meant. As the time drew near, we read in his journal that he withdrew into the country, that he might search the Scriptures in order to find his material for the construction of an ideal, model missionary. A building known as the Tabernacle, built for Whitfield, was secured for the occasion. The day was wet and stormy, but the great building was crowded long before the hour. The sermon was so long that he had to pause twice during its course, and rest himself and the vast congregation with a hymn. But such a sermon, and such a surprise to the committee, who had been counting the heads in that crowd with joy, as they thought of the contribution-boxes and their gains! It was all about the ideal apostle, working out of love to Christ, with no regard to committees or societies or machinery of any kind! The elaborately-constructed system of the missionary-board melted away like a mockery-man of snow, under the melting, thawing process of this burning-glass scorch! A hilarious elephant, put in a china-closet to defend the brittle ware, could not have been more utterly out of place than was this hitherto unyoked minister. But, as we shall presently see, he was even then feeling after that inspired apostleship which, later on, he found in the movement known as the Catholic Apostolic Church.

After the famous charge of heresy, with reference to the

sinlessness of Christ, of which we shall speak presently, we find Irving next engaged in the prophetic circles which met at Albury, — that place which was afterwards, and has remained ever since, the shrine of the restored apostles. Here he published his lectures on Revelation, and a series of papers in their published organ, "The Morning Watch," on "Old Testament Prophecies quoted in the New." Then came, in quick succession, after these glimpses of millennial blessedness, the circles for prayer that God would send better days, and make His power felt in the world; that new apostles might be called and chosen; that the miraculous gifts of healing and of prophecy might be restored to the Church; and that the promised power of the Holy Ghost might descend upon the world. And then at once, as by a flash, there came news from the North — away off in the very home of the rugged Scotch faith — of the different cases of healing, and the strange manifestations of the "tongues." This was followed by the like manifestations in Irving's own congregation, — breaking out even in the regular Sabbath services. Then, just before the final crisis, we find him breaking away from the excitement of these new revelations, and making a tour through Ireland. More now than ever, because of these strange rumors which preceded him, did the crowds flock to hear him. His letters home to his wife and children are filled with this one idea of the restoration of the apostolic gifts. He hears a little five-year-old girl singing to herself in one of the houses where he stays in Dublin, and asks the child what it is. She answers, it is a little song she has made up for herself; and then she sings it:—

“Come, my little lambs,
And feed by my side,
And I will give you to eat of my body,
And to drink of the blood of my flesh;
And ye shall be filled with the Holy Ghost.
And whosoever believeth not on me
Shall be cast out;
But he that believeth on me
Shall feed with me,
Beside my Father.”

“Even the children,” he writes home, “are receiving the long-foretold gift, according to the promise, ‘Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength.’” At last, after the council in London, which met to pass judgment upon these startling manifestations and utterances, had decided that Irving was not fit to be a minister, the matter came before the Presbytery of Annan; and thither he went for final trial.

Ecclesiastical trials are always sad exhibitions of human nature, tossed about by wrong motives and insufficient grounds of evidence. Frequently it happens that the very doctrines in dispute can never be stated in clearer terms than the old definition itself, sheltered under which these opposite parties rest. This Annan trial reads like an assize of Judge Jeffries, or the scene of Christian’s trial under Judge Hategood, at Vanity Fair, in “Pilgrim’s Progress,” or like an inquisition of Torquemada.

Buckle seems to be right, after all, in his apparent paradox about Scotland and Spain, when we come to this same craving after ecclesiastical tribunals. The special charge brought against Irving, however, was not the irregularities in worship caused by the so-called miraculous gift of tongues, but his heretical views as to the human nature

of Christ. Annan was his birthplace ; and there, in his old parish church, and in the presence of not less than two thousand persons, who came flocking in from all the country round about, he was put upon trial for what was far dearer to him than life. In his defence, he denied with vehement indignation the charge that he had imputed sinfulness to the Lord. With a heart breaking with sorrow for the dishonor of Christ, and swelling with anger at the grievous injustice that was done to himself, he reaffirmed his faith that Jesus became in all things one with his brethren, and was tempted in all points like as they are, yet without sin. He says : "I stand here a witness for the Lord Jesus, to tell men what he did for them ; and what he did was this : he took your flesh and made it holy, thereby to make you holy ; and therefore he will make every one holy who believes in him. He came into your battle, and trampled under foot Satan, the world, the flesh, — yea, all enemies of living men ; and saith to every one, 'Be ye holy, for I am holy.' Ah ! was he not holy ? Holy in his mother's womb, holy in his childhood, holy in his advancing years, holy in his nativity, holy in his resurrection, — and not more holy in one than in another ?"

But it was in vain. Sentence was passed against him. But, just as the moderator was about to proceed to the solemn work of deposing him from the ministry, before the senior member of the Presbytery had offered up the closing prayer, a voice was heard from a distant corner of the dark building, exclaiming, "Arise, depart ! arise, depart ! Flee ye out of her ! Ye cannot pray ! How can ye pray ? How can ye pray to Christ, whom ye deny ? Ye cannot

pray! Depart, flee!" The voice was strong and very solemn, coming as it did with the bold unction of some Hebrew prophet, in the stillness and gathering darkness of the late afternoon session. The confused congregation gathered round Irving; his friend, Mr. Dow, to whom this prophetic utterance had been given, exclaimed: "Stand forth! stand forth! What! will ye not obey the voice of the Holy Ghost? As many as will obey the voice of the Holy Ghost, let them depart!" He thereupon left the church, exclaiming: "Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth! Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler; the snare is broken, and we are escaped!"

"Thus," says Mrs. Oliphant, in her most interesting life of Irving, "in the twilight of that March night, Edward Irving went forth from the church where he had been baptized and ordained, — from the Church of Scotland, the sanctuary of his fathers, — nevermore to enter within walls dedicated to her service, till he entered in silent pomp to wait the resurrection and advent of his Lord. But it was a comfort to his forlorn heart to be sent forth by that voice which he believed to be the voice of God. The anguish of hearing the sentence of deposition was spared him, and with a pathetic joy he rejoiced over this, when he gave his own account of the eventful day."

After this he returned to London, and refrained from exercising any of his ministerial functions, though urged by others not to mind the deposition of the Church. His friends in the new movement, afterwards known as the Catholic Apostolic Church, gathered round him, and soon a congregation was formed for him in Newman Street.

Here he waited, not as a leader, but as a follower, in this church of the so-called Apostolic restoration, until he received ordination as an "angel" over the Newman-Street parish. Then followed the breaking-up of health, and the last journey to the North, through Wales, and the final death-scene in Glasgow; where, as a pilgrim and a stranger, he was tarrying for a night. There, in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral, in December, 1834, he was buried. He was followed to the grave by unnumbered friends and former followers, — Dr. Chalmers, who had first introduced him to London, coming forward now to offer a last resting-place to all that remained of his former assistant. And there, in that Scotch Westminster Abbey, all that is mortal of this strange Scottish priest and prophet rests.

2. In the second part of this paper we were to notice the quality of Irving's writings. In the popular and too often superficial judgment upon the career of this man, we are apt to render the easy verdict of insanity, and then throw away his life and writings as so much wasted power. But his influence and his greatness were not alone in his enthusiasm, in any eccentricity of manner, or peculiarly gorgeous style. He was not merely a rhetorician or an enthusiast. He was a careful and most suggestive thinker. There was that in his voice and method which made him appear as a restored Hebrew prophet, but it was not solely "*vox et præterea nihil.*" He had a burden to deliver, as well as a commission by which he was enabled to deliver it. The voice said, "Cry!" and his messages were always worth hearing. He was a careful student, and was known in his college life as "the great mathematician." He had

originality and suggestiveness. His wealth of mind shows itself in the deep intuitive grasp with which he laid hold of truth.

At times he seems Baconian. There is a strange mingling of dogmatic orthodoxy with a something which was coming afterwards. It is very easy to see the influence of Coleridge and Carlyle blending with his mental vigor. Many of his sermons read like an amalgam of Chalmers and Robertson. In theology and in metaphysics, in ecclesiology and in ethics, he is never commonplace or superficial. The Trinity and the Incarnation, as modes of the being of God; the vexing questions of the Sacraments, and the party-cry of Election,—are never with him wooden dogmas. He is always ready to give a strong reason for the hope that he so tenaciously holds. But the one truth which became the root-idea of his theology was the living power of the Incarnation. This it was, which, while it gave to him a newer, fresher meaning to the doctrine of the Atonement, paved the way for his after-views about the coming of Christ, and the restoration of supernatural gifts, and the final charge of heresy concerning the human nature of the Son of God. In one of his sermons, in speaking of this doctrine, he says: "To every thought, word, and act of Christ there concurreth two operations: an operation in the infinite Godhead, and an operation in the finite manhood; and that these two operations are not the operations of two persons, but of one person only. And what result and inference have you but this most sublime, most perfect one, that all the volitions, purposes, and actings of the Godhead are one with all the volitions and actings of

the manhood of Christ? For the Godhead never acteth but by the Son; and the Son never acteth unto the creatures but by the manhood, which, with his Godhead, formeth one person. Wherefore this sublime truth is for ever incorporated in the person of Christ, that Godhead and manhood are not in amity merely, not in sympathy merely, but in union, unity, and unction, hypostatical or consubstantial. Atonement, then, or reconciliation, is a mere notion, figure of speech, or similitude, until it be seen effected in the constitution of the person of Christ under these two wills or operations. I object not to the similitude taken from paying debts, nor to the similitude taken from redeeming captives, nor to the similitude taken from one man's dying for another, nor to any of the similitudes which St. Paul useth most eloquently and most fitly for illustrating and enforcing this most precious truth of the atonement or reconciliation; but the similitudes are to my mind only poor helps for expressing the largeness and completeness of the thing which is done by the Word's being made flesh."

It was his desire to press home the power of incarnation, which led him to represent the human nature of Christ as a real one, and in all things so like our own that it was possessed of inward sinful inclinations; only Christ never yielded to them. Christ's body he declared had been sinful from birth; it was flesh like Adam's after his fall, and it became sinless only after the resurrection; or, in other words, that we can receive Christ's true humanity only in case it was subject to sin.

We can judge somewhat of the zealous character of his critics and reviewers, when we find Irving, in 1830, writing

to Dr. Chalmers : “ Really, I am ashamed in the sight of English scholars, to see a man, pretending to judge these great questions, talking about ‘ *Monotholos* himself.’ If *he* is ever to become your colleague, get him at least better instructed in the nomenclature of the heresies, so that he shall not mistake the name of an opinion for the name of a man.”

3. Let us now notice the relation of Irving to the movement known as “Irvingism.”

When we come to investigate this subject, we find that there is no such thing as Irvingism in the eyes of his followers. It is a mere outside nickname. The members of the Catholic Apostolic Church ignore it in the way that an Anglican priest of the Catholic-revival type scorns to be called a Puseyite. In a letter addressed to me by a minister in the Catholic Apostolic Church, he says : “ Let me beg you to avoid the frequently-uttered slander that the Church teaches the sinfulness of Christ’s human nature, for it has not a shadow of truth. Let me hope, also, that what you may read will satisfy you of the impropriety of designating by the nickname of ‘ Irvingism ’ a movement which he did not originate, and in which he held only a subordinate position.” This movement of the restoration of the Apostolic Church began with a circle of prayer and study, which met at Albury in 1826, at the house of Mr. Henry Drummond. Irving was in frequent attendance upon these meetings, but he was not their head and organizer. The object of these meetings at first was simply to study the prophetic Scriptures, and to pray for the revival of true religion. The special theory Irving pressed home

was the great truth of the Incarnation and the verity of our Lord's human nature. Then came the news of peculiar phenomena in Scotland, especially at Port-Glasgow. Apparently ignorant persons were endowed with the gift of prophecy; there were also wonderful cases of healing, closely resembling in character the miracles of the New Testament. For instance, James Campbell, living on the Clyde, was so endowed with the Holy Ghost, the result of Miss Mary Campbell's prayers, that he went to the bedside of his sister, who was lying very ill, and healed her by a word of command. Many other such cases occurred. All this time, Irving, with others of his flock, attended these prayer-meetings, held by the members of the old church, where there were the gifts of tongues and prophecy. Still in the Church of Scotland, he tried to regulate these utterances; but the manifestations became so noisy in the public congregation, that at last his church was closed against him. There is a memorable scene in his life, where he talked with Coleridge and Chalmers on this subject. They warned him to discountenance publicly these manifestations. But, just about this period, one Baxter, a renegade from the new movement, declared that, though he had felt impelled to go to the great Court of Chancery to interrupt its proceedings by bearing a witness in the power of the Spirit against the sins of the kingdom, and though he had done many other such things, and, after all, had renounced the brethren,—he still maintained that he had acted by a supernatural influence, over which he had no power, and that, if it *was not from God, it was from Satan*, the author of discord and confusion and deceit.

Here, then, it was that Irving took his final stand. Though his friends remonstrated, though Thomas Carlyle, himself the apostle of a new era, begged him not to go any further, — in an interview through which Irving sat in silence, his face buried in his hands, — he said: “We have prayed for these manifestations, and they have come. Here is a supernatural power; it must be from God. I know there is disorder and uncontrolled chaos; but so there was at Corinth, and this is a restored Corinthianism. I cannot desert my brethren. I will go with them; and, ‘if I perish, I perish!’”

At the beginning of this manifestation of prophetic utterances, the cry was heard, “Send us Apostles! send us Apostles!” For a while this cry was not understood. Afterwards, there was a prophetic communication indicating a certain person as one whom the Lord had called to be an apostle. Then others were named as separated for this work, in the same way that Paul and Barnabas were set apart for their work. In the spring of 1834, as the Rev. Mr. Davenport says in his pamphlet upon this subject, “Irving was deposed by the Presbytery for alleged heresy in regard to the human nature of the Lord. This sentence he at first considered null and void; and on his return to London was about to resume his functions, when he was directed, by a word spoken supernaturally by the apostle who had first been called, to suspend his ministry except in preaching, and not to administer the Sacrament in the congregation until he should receive a new ordination, which was to be given to him shortly; and which was conferred by the hands of the apostle in a few days afterwards,

when he was ordained 'angel' over the church in Newman Street."

Soon after this, in December of the same year, he died. According to the authorities of the new movement, he died just at the right time. He had been a faithful witness to the truth of Jesus Christ come in the flesh, and of his second coming; and now the way for the new movement was clear.

Never, in all the range of ecclesiastical history, is there need for a nicer and more delicate balancing of judgment, than in this question. If we read of the utterances and confusion in Irving's church, and then compare all this carefully with St. Paul's account of the manifestations at Corinth, the spiritual enthusiasm and the disorder seem exactly the same in both cases. It seems at first sight a difficult thing to say, with a God who rules over every epoch of his Church, and is "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever," that one was genuine because it was in the first, and the other was spurious because it was in the eighteenth, Christian century. Coleridge himself had said of him, "I see in Edward Irving a minister after the exact order of St. Paul." Irving maintained that miraculous gifts of the Spirit ceased, not because they were no longer of use to the Church, but because the faith of the Church grew cold and dead. Mr. Drummond declared that the Romish Church was right, in maintaining that we Protestants have no ground for saying that miracles were ever to cease, and that we can produce no warrant from Scripture for so saying. Thus, when this supposed restoration of apostolic gifts burst upon the

Church, these men were wrought up to such a state of spiritual tension that they were quite prepared for them. This gift of tongues was not a knowledge of languages, as it was not this with the Corinthians. It was an ecstatic series of utterances, differing not very greatly in character from those vivid delineations of camp-meeting experiences, with the prophetic language of the prophet Dred, given by Mrs. Stowe in her story of that name, describing slave-life in the great Dismal Swamp of North Carolina.

Here are two or three examples taken from Mrs. Oliphant's biography. Mr. Irving is preaching when these utterances are heard, more or less rhythmical in character, taking the complexion of the last strain of the preacher.

"I have set before — oh, I have set before thee an open door. Oh, let no man shut it ! Oh, let no man shut it !"

After the invitation to the Communion, a voice is heard as follows : —

"Ah, be ye warned, — be ye warned ! The Lord hath prepared for you a table, but it is a table in the presence of your enemies. Ah, look ye well to it ! The city shall be builded up, — every jot, every piece of the edifice. Be faithful each under his load, — each under his load ; but see that ye build with one hand and with a weapon in the other. Look to it ! look to it ! ye have been warned. Ah, Sanballat, Sanballat, Sanballat ! — the Horonite, the Moabite, the Ammonite ! Ah, confederate, confederate, confederate, with the Horonite ! Ah, look ye to it ! look ye to it !"

Now at first sight this has a Chadbandish sound, and there comes the rising smile as if we were reading from Dickens ; but when we examine the irregularities at Cor-

inth, where St. Paul was so anxious (Cor. i. 14) to have every thing done decently and in order, we find that the phenomena in each case are strangely alike. It was a misinterpretation of this chapter, and a false re-localizing of its principles to the gatherings at Albury, which led the great and gifted Irving into error. This subject of the gift of tongues at Corinth we cannot now consider; but we may believe that in all probability, with their heathenish conception of Pythonic inspiration, since the word "enthusiasm" meant in the classical sense "God-possessed," these manifestations of the Corinthian Christians were, in some way, related to the remarkable phenomena witnessed in clairvoyance and animal magnetism, or to those ecstatic states observable in times of deep religious excitement. Frederick W. Robertson, in his lectures on the Corinthians, has a judicious interpretation of these phenomena; and with his words I will finish this subject of the "Tongues." He says:—

"Have you ever listened to those airs which are to us harsh and unmelodious, but which to the Swiss mountaineer tell of home, bringing him back to the scenes of his childhood, speaking to him in a language clearer than the tongue? Or have you ever listened to the merry, unmeaning shouts of boyhood, getting rid of exuberance of life, uttering in sound a joy which boyhood only knows, and for which manhood has no words? Well, in all these you have dim illustrations of the way in which new feelings, deep feelings, irrepressible feelings, found for themselves utterance in sounds which were called tongues. Even at the day of Pentecost, men mocking said, 'These men are full of new wine!' By St. Paul's illustration, in which he compares the gift of tongues to music, he shows us too that these feelings needed interpretation, and that

sympathy is the only condition for the interpretation of feeling. Take an instance : a child is often the subject of feelings he does not understand. See how he is affected by the reading of a tale, or a moving hymn : he will not say, 'How touching, how well imagined !' but he will hide his face because he does not know what is the matter with him, and he is ashamed of sensations which he does not understand. And so in the same way, it seems to me, the early Christians were the subjects of feelings too deep to be put into words."

4. There yet remains the fourth and last department of this subject ; namely, the movement called "Irvingism," or, as these persons call it themselves, the "Catholic Apostolic Church."

The work of the formation and constitution of this new Church went on after Irving's death. The number of apostles was increased to twelve ; a fourfold ministry was appointed ; a ritual was established ; new rites and ceremonies were introduced, — and thus out of the bosom of the Scottish Church, with its Protestant dogma and its absence of ceremony, was evolved this strange piece of Ritualism, with its incense, its genuflections, and its sacramental form of worship.

The principal features of this movement are these : First, *the reviving of Catholicism out of the midst of Protestantism*. The power of Christianity is found not in any doctrine or system alone, but in the "donum supernaturale" with which the Holy Spirit supplies it. There is a complex organization of the Church ; there is belief in the power and efficacy of the sacraments as objective incarnations of Divine power ; and there is the fullest freedom given, in the matter of gorgeous and symbolic Ritualism.

The second feature of this movement is the *restoration of spiritual gifts*, including the apostleship and the fourfold ministry. There is a belief in *charisms* which is intricate and peculiar. These *charisms* are simply manifestations, according to what is in each man, of the indwelling Spirit abiding in the Church ; and it fully accounts for their suspension to say that the Holy Spirit has been grieved, and restrained from working freely and in full measure.

The ministry is fourfold, each with its own gifts : (1) Apostles ; (2) Prophets ; (3) Evangelists ; (4) Pastors.

The Apostolate and the Propheticate were the two offices which were restored. But this fourfoldness of ministry does not supersede or interfere with the threefoldness of order in bishops, priests, and deacons, which has ever been preserved in the Church. Thus it happens that in every normal congregation, fully organized, there was intended to be the three orders of bishop (or angel) ; the priests, who may comprise elders, prophets, evangelists, and pastors ; and deacons, among whom again some of the same characteristics may be found.

The third feature of this movement is the prominence it gives to *the hope of the coming of the Lord*. The present dispensation is not the final one. Christ shall come and dwell with his saints on earth ; there will be a series of apocalyptic events leading by degrees to the final end. The coming of the Lord is near at hand ; God is doing the preliminary work for it ; He is preparing a people to receive his Son from heaven, of which this restoration of apostles and prophets is a sure and infallible sign.

Forty years have passed away since the call of these apostles, and still this restored Church in miniature waits. Three only of the apostles are left to it. One of these is paralyzed and bedridden; the others, vested in their purple cassocks, with alb and chasuble, make daily intercession for deliverance from heaven, in their chapel at Albury in England. On this continent there are two or three small congregations in Canada, one in New York, and one in Boston. But the once tuneful voice of prophecy is dumb. In the New York congregation there is one prophet left, who occasionally speaks with "tongues." There are no more calls, no new ordinations, no growth; only the fast-contracting little group growing yearly less and less as the old members drop off in death.

But they have done their work, they say; they have been swift witnesses to God's power, and before the last man of them dies, the Son of God *must* come.

Impelled by a desire, — one part interest, and one part curiosity, — I attended service in their little chapel, in one of our cities. There are about twenty communicants. The Eucharist is celebrated every Sunday morning at ten o'clock, and is reserved from Sunday to Sunday in the tabernacle upon the altar. There is morning prayer every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at six o'clock; and afternoon prayer at five o'clock on Tuesdays and Thursdays. I went to a service on an afternoon. It was a shorter service, and was conducted by a deacon, vested in a long black cassock, with a short alb and red stole and gold fringe hanging over the left shoulder. Their prayer-book is in many respects like that of the Episcopal Church, only it would

delight the heart of a few "advanced" brethren to see in plain and lawful black and white, the

"Gentle wishes of the heart,
Subdued and cherished long."

There were two ladies present, and one man. I sat on the back seat, and took my ecclesiastical bearings. In this upper-room there were seats for about sixty or eighty persons. There was a slightly elevated dais in the place of a chancel, with a high altar, back against the wall. Two large candlesticks stood on either side of the altar, in the centre of which was placed the tabernacle, or shrine of wood, containing the reserved Sacrament. A lighted lamp hung down from the ceiling before this tabernacle. Seats were placed on each side of the dais; a lecturn stood a little to the left, and on the extreme left was a little pulpit. The service was intoned in the key of *F* sharp by a deacon. The responses were chanted by a small congregation of three persons after the most approved cathedral style, and I recognized the notes of the familiar versicles as we can all remember them in an English choral service. In the lesser litany,—as I suppose it might be called,—the vested deacon interpolated a special sentence, praying that God would restore Apostle Armstrong, lying upon his sick-bed. When the service was over, all bowed to the altar and retired. The orientation was preserved complete. Holy water stood in a bowl at the entrance, and the room was flavored with a decided scent of incense. I was told, by my friend who gave me the prayer-book and found me the places, that the officiating deacon was not consecrated to the ministry alone, but that when not officiating in the

chapel he was engaged in secular pursuits. His stole was red, to symbolize the blood of Christ.

With a parting thought of the contrast between Edward Irving and the closing scene of his ministry in his deposition by the rigid Presbytery of Annan — the very essence of Scotch Presbyterianism — and this petite church, which seemed somehow like a religious Masonic lodge, I found myself on the busy street again, with crowds of men and women and carts and horse-cars, passing heedlessly by this unknown Church of the Restored Apostles.

V.

LACORDAIRE.

FRENCH religious heroes have been remarkable for both of these distinguishing adjectives, — for their *Frenchiness*, and for their *religiousness*. We know very little about St. Denis; but that other patron saint, King Louis, was a fine French fighter after all, even though he was so sweet and gentle. If these religious heroes of France have been superficial, their superficialness has partaken of their national exuberance; and if their earnestness and reality have been conspicuously eminent, they have brought with them that exquisite charm of piquancy so peculiar to the French nation.

St. Philip Neri and Jean Jacques Olier, St. Vincent de Paul and Charles de Condren, Madame Guyon and Fénelon, Henry Lacordaire and Hyacinthe Loyson, are names which we find along the line of French ecclesiastical history; and through each of these lives there has run a sprightliness and vivacity peculiar to the national character, which has made even French mysticism a very different thing from the German conception of the same religious state of mind. It was in France that the miraculous appearance of Christ to Margaret Alacoque took place nearly a century ago, which resulted in the services

known as the Devotion of the Sacred Heart. Then it was that the apparition of our Lord uttered those words, which have since become common on the upraised image of the sacred heart: "Behold this heart, which has so loved men, and has received nothing but ingratitude in return!" It was in France, about twenty years ago, that the Virgin appeared to the peasant children, Maximin and Melane, in the field, which has latterly resulted in the pilgrimages to the shrine of Notre Dame de La Salette. It was in France, too, that the Virgin of the immaculate conception appeared in the cave, at Lourdes, to the little girl Bernadette Soubirous, some eight or ten years ago. Here a spring of water has burst forth, and miraculous cures of every description are wrought upon the pious pilgrims. French prints of these shrines make them very attractive places, as they show us pretty pilgrims there. There is in every way so much about French religion which is showy, and produces "effect," — there are so many stories abroad at the expense of the French heart, showing how every inmost experience works its way out to the surface through a tinge of fashion, — that it is a great relief to find resolute trueness and earnest Christianity at the heart of many of their lights and heroes, even if there is a rim of the national halo around their lives. But this impression of fashionableness is a superficial and acquired one. It comes to us from the lightness and frivolity of the language, and the customs of France, — language and customs alike being best known to us through fashion prints, and dancing-schools, and the stage.

And then, too, we do the French nature wrong, when

we try to hunt through a strong man's moral and intellectual calibre to find out some Northern blood-basis, either German or Anglo-Saxon, and lay the secret of the strength there. We too often give the credit for the power to some foreign share in the pedigree, as if, without some alien element in the composition of the nature, the pure unmixed Frenchman could do morally nothing.

The career of Henry Lacordaire, the restorer of the Benedictine Order of preachers, and the greatest French pulpit-orator of modern days, is a striking instance of national and religious earnestness, held in abeyance to the all-powerful fiat of the Papal power. It is hard, at first sight, to make out the secret cause of the sudden stoppage of his career as a reformer. With his brethren and friends of the priesthood, as seen by their rapturous approval of his course, the sacrifice of his life's most cherished aim to the veto of the Vatican was the highest mark of supreme saintliness. In the eyes of his enemies, this yielding on his part means the timeserving policy which blasted the otherwise fair name of Henry of Navarre; from which Lacordaire's successor — Father Hyacinthe — escaped, even though the latter's escape has as yet resulted in nothing definite and tangible in the way of ecclesiastical reform. It is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory decision upon such a character as that of Lacordaire, if once we doubt the moral sincerity of the man. The matter of his intellectual appreciation of the age in which he lived, and the question of his true and correct judgment of the issues of his Church and State, lie in an altogether different plane from that which involves moral censure

upon the man's motives. Emerson may develop from a Unitarian preacher into a Transcendentalist philosopher, John Henry Newman may change his pulpit at Oxford for the cloister of the Oratory at Birmingham, or the scientific Wallace become a Spiritualist, in precisely the same way that the young patriot and reformer Lacordaire travelled, when he gave up his long cherished paper, "L'Avenir," and parted company from his political friends, De Lamennais and Montalembert. History, and it may be our own social circle, is filled with these strange departures from the earlier radicalism of young manhood, to the cautious conservatism of one's later surroundings. There are certain social and professional currents which visibly affect men, so that they move like the balloon at certain altitudes, in horizontal rather than in perpendicular lines. The late Canon Kingsley was one of these arrested reformers. It is hard to think of the visitor we had so recently upon our shores, with his blurred and prejudiced conception of the late civil war, as the author of "Alton Locke." Charles Dickens, too, as he appeared among us, the thoroughly English diner-out, seemed strangely unlike the creator of such characters as Tom Pinch and Oliver Twist and Joe Gargery.

We shall see then, a little later on, that the true solution of Lacordaire's inverted career, by which he gave up the bustling activity of a French newspaper room for the seclusion of a Dominican cell, is best explained by the ecclesiastical current into which he drifted. We must clear his character, at the outset, from the suspicion of a timeserving policy.

I have before me now a French photograph of Lacordaire, taken by L. Pierson, No. 202 Rue de Rivoli, Paris, marked as follows: "Garanti d'après nature." There can be no doubt of the genuineness and reliability of this picture. It represents him in his Benedictine dress, with smooth face and shaven head, sitting with his side to the beholder, but with a full front face. Looking at this face for the first time, one cannot but be disappointed. The dress of the Carmelite Order, which has been popularly reproduced in later pictures of Hyacinthe, a very decided cunning in the piercing eye, which reminds one of the photographs of Pius IX., and a certain Napoleonic cast of countenance which is very prominent when the monastic surroundings of the picture are concealed, — all detract from the ideal conception of the great preacher. The nose is aquiline, the head is conical and Frenchy, like so many of their heroes, — as with Thiers, Lafayette, and Louis Philippe. The strength of the face, after all, is found in the mouth and chin, and the downward lines. If, as it has been said, every man is responsible for his mouth and the expression around it, then Lacordaire's face stamps him with great moral purity, and with that absence of animalism which is so often found lurking about the jaws and lips of some great men and great preachers. This would be in keeping with the popularly received dictum that the character of the mind speaks through the upper portion of the face, and the moral qualities through the lower portion. There is nothing so strange in literature as the outward knowledge of an author whom we have never seen, and the keen disappointment one often

experiences in coming face to face for the first time with the living person himself, or the substituted picture of him. The ideal face too often disappears before the actual ordinariness of flesh and blood.* But it is always a pleasure to find, in the expression of any strong face, the basilar elements of sinful human nature, mastered by some conquering spiritualness, which reigns supreme as the dominant drift of the soul. And it is this sense of struggle and moral victory which, after all, is the salient feature of Lacordaire's face.

Henry Lacordaire, the son of the village doctor of Recey Sur Ouce, a small village in Burgundy, was born in the year 1802, at the time of a public disturbance among the peasantry concerning the civil constitution of the clergy. The old curé of the town, when forcibly expelled by the crowd, exclaimed, "Kill me, if you please ; but know that I will never take a sacrilegious oath." Nicholas Lacordaire took the old priest into his own home, and fitted up for him — after the manner of Micah and the Levite, as described in the Book of Judges — a little chapel, where for three months the services of the Church were constantly held. It was during this period, when the village church was in the very house of his father, that Henry Lacordaire was born and baptized in the loyal faith of the Church of Rome. Four years after this event the village doctor died ; and the widow Lacordaire, with her four children, removed to Dijon. During his childhood, Henry was remarkable for great sweetness of disposition, and yet for his indomitable will, — a will that insisted, when only a child, upon doing those things which his infantile

conscience declared right. On one occasion, before he was six years old, he insisted upon making a pilgrimage to his father's grave, an incident which in after years he related with his accustomed eloquence.

One of the childish premonitions of his after life was his fondness for playing priest, and officiating in the presence of his nurse at a nursery altar. He would preach by the hour in an earnest and incomprehensible rhapsody.

As he grew older, he evinced a strange fondness for reading the sermons of Bourdaloue, and imitating the preachers he had heard. At Dijon he was received by confirmation into the Church, and seems never to have forgotten the parish church where he made his first confession, and received his first communion. After this he entered the school of law in that city, and was soon found becoming enthusiastic over the social and political problems of the age, and absorbed in the study of that matchless heathen, Plato. Then followed one of those strange antitheses in his life, which was such a wonder to his Roman Catholic biographers. In the Deism of the age, and in his studies of Voltaire and Rousseau, who were the leaders of all French philosophy at that period, he lost his faith.

He next appears in Paris living in a small attic chamber, which was all that his limited means and the assistance from his mother's purse could allow. During this period of his life he was a hard student in the office of an advocate, busily engaged, both in the pursuit of his own chosen profession of the law, and eagerly studying those questions of social and political reconstruction which were abroad in the very atmosphere of the age, and which the

wonderful successes of the young American republic were constantly bringing before the minds of French reformers. At last the day came when he made his *début* at the bar, when he won for himself high honors by his power of imagination ; so that an old advocate prophesied for him a brilliant future, adding, however, that he was destined to be a second Bossuet. Then it was that, in the very midst of the glories of authorship and legal ambitions, he began to feel a return of his earlier Christian idealism, bringing as it did such an open future for his untamed imagination. Herein was the secret of his mental struggles. Whenever his mind chained down his soul ; whenever the supremacy of the logical faculties domineered over the glowing impulses of his heart, — there was in his nature a painful revelation of incongruity, which generally resulted in the righting of his emotional over his mere intellectual being. His young law-friends had noticed, just at that period when the world was opening before him its tempting secular pursuits, a growing sadness and reserve about him, and could not tell what it meant. In vain those who knew him best inquired of him the secret cause of his strange behavior. He was frequently surprised by some of his near acquaintances, on his knees in church, partly hidden by some pillar against which he leaned, while engaged in silent meditation and prayer.

At last the long-hidden secret came out to the light ; the mystery of his strange mental struggle was made clear. To his dearest companion and friend, the young and rising lawyer Henry Lacordaire said, “ Well, my mind is made up at last. I am going to enter the Seminary of St. Sulpice.”

Thus ended his second struggle. First, from the unthinking and mechanical religion of his childhood he emerged into the stormy doubts of youth, — doubts which were as necessary to reveal to him the truth, as the darkness is necessary to help us to define the light. Then his spiritual nature triumphed over his mere intellectual powers, and this conflict ended in his determination to enter the Church. Once again the wave of social, political, and ecclesiastical progress carried him to the fore-front as a resolute reformer; and again, when his radicalism brought him into antagonism with the Church, he hesitated for a while in the trembling balance of uncertainty, and for the last time threw the heavy weight of his destiny into the ideal life of the Church, as his imagination painted it, rather than into the vortex of radical State reform.

As a seminarist, Lacordaire evinced all that rapturous religiousness which his fond biographers take such manifest delight in exhibiting. He came to this new life with something of his childish gladness and gayety of heart, as if, now for ever, he had found his true sphere, and was never any more to be tortured with a doubt. After three years and a half, in the 25th year of his age, he was ordained a priest, and wrote home to his mother, "The great desire of my life is at last accomplished. I am at last a priest, 'Sacerdos in æternum secundem ordinem Melchisedec.'"

Then came the question of what his life's work was to be. He thought at first of the missionary call, with its adventurous pioneer field. A sudden and unexpected honor, however, awaited him. "You are too bright a fellow to waste upon the heathen," said a witty ecclesiastic from the

south of France; "sit down by me now, while I tell you I am going to make a cardinal of you!" Hereupon he informed him that he had been nominated to be auditor of the Rota at the court of Rome. A first-class, brilliant Frenchman was needed, to supply this place at the court of the Vatican, whose final end, in all human probability, would be the cardinalate. Lacordaire's legal ability and forensic acquirements fitted him for the post; and so M. Boyer, the priest in charge of the nomination, saw a Providence in the thing, and offered the place to the young seminarist. But, to the surprise of all, the young Lacordaire replied that he had entered the Church to be a preacher, and not an ecclesiastic noble. Already he felt himself called to be a "religious," and he would not interrupt the current of his life's vocation by such a dazzling offer as this.

This incident, however, was never known until after Lacordaire's death. With his accustomed modesty he had never told any one that he had refused the rank of Monsignore, with the sure prospect of a bishopric. After this he became chaplain to a convent of visitation nuns, and quietly pursued his theological studies, beginning a long and various correspondence with the celebrated Madame Swetchine and others of the Gallican Church,—which wonderful correspondence covers manifold experiences of his inner life, and forms a great and interesting portion of his published biography. Then there returned a wave of his earlier experience. He had arrived at the fullest belief in the Catholic Church, through social and political doubts and struggles. As one of his biographers tells us, from

the necessity of society he had inferred the necessity of the Church by these easy steps: there can be no society without religion, no religion without Christianity, no Christianity without the Catholic Church. The problem of the free State and the free Church as it existed in the United States was constantly before his mind. From the days of the Avignon popes, the liberties of the Gallican Church, as opposed to the ultramontaniam of the Vatican, had been an inherited tradition to every vigorous French mind. Already in the celebrated newspaper, "*L'Avenir*," the Abbé de Lamennais and Count Montalembert had written very plainly concerning French national Catholicism; and now there loomed up before the religious and the patriotic mind of Lacordaire the vision of a mission of liberation for France, such as O'Connell effected for Ireland. "Who is there," he said, "who, at moments when the state of his own country saddens him, has not turned his eyes towards the republic of Washington? Who has not, in fancy at least, sat down to rest under the shadow of her forests and her laws? Weary with the spectacle I beheld in France, it was on that land that I cast my eyes; and thither I resolved to go, to ask a hospitality she has never refused to a traveller or a priest."

He had secured the consent of his archbishop and his friends, and was busied with the final preparation of his plans, when a strong appeal was made to him to remain and share in an undertaking at once Catholic and national, which might liberate the French Church from the ecclesiastical absolutism of the hour, and bring about the regeneration of society. A band of patriotic souls had established

the newspaper "*L'Avenir*," for this very purpose, and Lacordaire was wanted to throw into it his enthusiastic spirit. He therefore at the last relinquished his project of sailing to the United States. We now approach the great crisis of his life. Once after this, in the revolution of 1848, he appeared upon the stage again as a politician, but it was not in the fresh and eager way in which he threw himself into the movement of 1830.

The movement of the free newspaper, the "*Journal l'Avenir*," was begun by the concerted action of the Abbé Lamennais, Montalembert, and Lacordaire. It had been the essay of Lamennais, "*Sur l'Indifference*," which had brought back the young lawyer to the Christian fold, and had decided the question of his future vocation. The journal had for its motto "*God and Liberty*," and its authors started out plainly to reform Catholic opinion in France, and unite it with the liberal progress of the age. Lacordaire was then twenty-eight years of age, and, though a devoted ecclesiastic, never wore this dress in the streets, seeming, after all, most at home in the hurly-burly confusion of the printing room.

But soon the free press was on the rocks. An article written by Lacordaire, which was supposed to reflect upon Louis Philippe, caused the editors to appear before the court. But Lacordaire pleaded his cause with so much patriotic eloquence that the editors were acquitted.

Then they entered into a new enterprise, and gave notice that they would open a free school in Paris; which they began in May, 1831. But the police came down upon them, and Count Montalembert was accused before a court of

nobles, and fined. Following this, came the Papal censure which Gregory XVI. issued in the fall of 1832, which forbade utterly the regeneration of society, or the liberties of the Gallican Church, in any such way as these French editors had in mind.

Before this, however, they made a pilgrimage together to Rome, to try and secure from the Holy Father in person a vindication of their efforts. Together they travelled to Rome, but the effect of their visit upon them broke up this triumvirate. After being coldly and suspiciously received at the Vatican, Lamennais gave up entirely all hope of any reform in the Church, and broke away in a manly wrath from his companions and from the Church of Rome as a hopeless clog upon the age. Montalembert took the reproof in silence; but the sensitive feelings of Lacordaire were aroused by the sights and pageants and traditions of the city upon the Seven Hills, and in a moment of penitential sorrow he retracted his errors and supplicated forgiveness from the Holy Father whom he had incensed. As Montalembert says, in his life of Lacordaire, "The miseries, the infirmities, inseparable from the mingling of every thing human with that which is divine, did not escape his notice, but they seemed lost in the mysterious splendor of tradition and authority. He, the journalist, the citizen of 1830, — he, the democratic liberal, — had comprehended at the first glance, not only the inviolable majesty of the supreme pontificate, but its difficulties, its long and patient designs, its indispensable regard for men and things here below."

As Lacordaire wandered over the city of Rome, and saw

its bewildering panorama of churchly prestige and power, again the intellect gave way before the imagination. "Do not let us chain down our hearts to our mere ideas," he said, as he found that, after all, it was his heart which was identified with the cause of the Church, and only his intellect with the free-church theory.

In his subsequent reply to Lamennais, — a reply which he made to defend his position as a devoted Catholic, a reply which even his best friends considered his weakest work, compared with the strong positions taken by his former friend and companion, — he rapturously exclaims: "O Rome! it was thus that I beheld thee seated amid the storms of Europe! I saw no anxiety on thy brow, and no distrust on thyself; thy glance turned to the four quarters of the world, followed with sublime discernment the development of human affairs in their connexion with those that are divine; whilst the tempest left thee calm because the spirit of God breathed in thee. . . . O Rome! God knows I did not mistake thee because I found no kings prostrate at thy gates! I kissed thy dust with joy and unutterable reverence, for thou didst appear to me what thou truly art, — the benefactress of the human race during past ages, its hope for the future, the only great thing still left in Europe, the captive of universal jealousy, the queen of the world. A suppliant pilgrim, I brought back from thee, not gold or perfume or precious stones, but something rarer and more unknown, the treasure of truth!" To the Protestant mind such a confession seems pitiable; but when we remember the wealth of this man's faith, and the way in which he believed that the Roman

Church was the only connecting link between heaven and earth; when we bear in mind his past unbelief, and the depression which came upon his nature when he was in uncertainty and gloom, lacking the voice of authority as the very basis of his imagination to work upon, — we can the better understand something of his sacrifice and struggle, and something of that peace which came to him in the certain consciousness that he was one with the past centuries of Church authority. It was the waif idea, the sense of loneliness and isolation, banishing him from the past company of the saints and the hopes and capabilities of the Roman communion, which made him after all religiously homesick until he was once more well established in her field.

His after life is the life of a religious recluse and a popular orator. Once again, in the storm which broke over Europe in 1848, he appeared for a short time as a member of the National Assembly. In Paris he received sixty-two thousand votes, and went into the Assembly as a "Republican of to-morrow," in the place of a "Republican of yesterday." These technical party-names had reference to the character of the new republicanism as opposed to that which had gone before. Three bishops and eleven priests were elected at the same time with him. Together they favored, with De Tocqueville, a constitutional monarchy of a liberal and limited form, rather than a universal republic. To have an organ of this modified republican sentiment, Father Lacordaire, with several others, again started a newspaper, known as the "*Ére Nouvelle*," which was to belong to no party, but was to speak the truth with tem-

perance and conservatism. This last paper flourished for a while, but in fickle France, with her changing fortunes, such a golden age could not long endure; and after a short career it died, and Lacordaire resigned his seat in the National Assembly, where, with his white Dominican habit, he had been a very striking figure in the make-up of its personnel. It remains for us to consider Lacordaire's subsequent history as a "religious," and as a pulpit orator.

From this time to his death, in 1861, he is best known by his biographers as the devoted priest and popular preacher, and the restorer of the Dominican Order in France. The Oratory and its system, which Charles de Condren had established in the sixteenth century, the work of the Lazarist Fathers, and the retreats at Port Royal in the days of Madame Guyon, along with the preaching powers of Fénelon, seemed alternately to occupy and influence the mind of the now re-established Lacordaire.

He declined successively the position of Professor at Louvain, and the editorship of the paper known as "*L'Univers*," in the acknowledged interests of the Ultramontane party. When first he attempted to preach, either by self-consciousness or by the checkered experiences of his past career, he failed signally, so that a few of his friends and admirers began to mistrust him as a broken-down priest. But after this mortifying experience, he began his series of Conferences in Paris, which finally ended in his public elevation as the installed preacher at Notre Dame Cathedral.

Then followed the most enthusiastic acknowledgment of his oratorical powers. At times the vast crowd would stand for hours at the unopened gates of the Cathedral,—

citizens, nobles, Deists, Protestants, — all alike waiting to hear the stream of eloquence which in those famous Conferences poured from his lips in the presence of the clergy and the Archbishop of Paris. Calvin at Geneva, John Knox at Edinburgh, Savonarola in the Duomo of Florence, and Peter the Hermit with his call to preach the crusades, were not more completely the governing autocrats of their varying constituencies, than was Lacordaire the rage and the passion of admiring Paris. On one occasion, after the sacred edifice had re-echoed to the applause of the multitude, the archbishop sought the priest to congratulate him upon his marvellous success, but the preacher who had disappeared so suddenly could nowhere be found. At last he was found in a hidden cell, weeping before an upraised crucifix. "My brother," said his friend, "why weep now; why upon your knees at this moment of success?" "Ah," replied Lacordaire, "it is all this success that I am so much afraid of!"

This was the premonition of that which was to come after. In the midst of all this glory he suddenly surprised every one by renouncing his position as preacher of Notre Dame, and by going to Rome with the purpose of entering the Dominican Order, for the sake of re-establishing it in France. From this time on, his life shows us an entire renunciation of will and purpose to that which he considered to be the highest of all earthly motives, — sacrifice and submission to the vows and requirements of his order. From time to time he emerged from his secluded cell, to preach an Advent or Lenten course at Notre Dame, and at Lyons, and other cities throughout France.

But finally, when the imperial government of Napoleon III. found some fault with his freedom of speech and powerful influence, he resolved never again to preach in Paris, and henceforth until the day of his death held his Conferences in other cities. The shaven head and white habit of the Dominican Father were no longer seen in the great French metropolis, to the grief of his admiring followers; for Lacordaire determined never more to cross swords with the fickle and arbitrary power of the State. His "inner life," as revealed by the interesting work of Pierre Chocarne, reveals to us the extravagances and painful self-inflicted tortures of a St. Benedict in his cell, or a St. Francis with his mystical excesses. From this time on, to the day of his death, his life reads like any conventional life of Roman Catholic sainthood, with here and there bright gleams of what the nature might have been, but for this strange and unnatural self-crucifixion.

We know this man best by his discourses; we read his wonderful utterances as they came from him in the pulpit: and in this way he is a power to us, while we forget the strange and unhappy martyrdom of a self-crucified life. Let me quote at random a few of these passages as they are found in his published discourses. Here is the way in which, speaking of the empire of Jesus Christ, he called forth the tears of his hearers in Notre Dame:—

"Yet with all this, we are forced to admit that, as we journey through life in pursuit of affection, whatever we win, it is but in an imperfect manner which leaves our hearts bleeding. And even if we were to obtain it perfectly in this life, what would remain to us of it after death? Some friendly prayers would indeed follow us

out of this world ; some kindly voice would still preserve our memory, and occasionally pronounce our name : but ere long heaven and earth would take another step forward, silence and forgetfulness would descend upon us, and from the distant shore no ethereal breeze of affection would be wafted over our tomb. It is over, over for ever ; and such is the history of human love ! But I am wrong. There *is* a Man whose ashes after eighteen centuries have not grown cold ; who is every day born anew in the memory of countless multitudes ; who is visited in His tomb by shepherds and by kings, who vie one with another in offering Him their homage. There *is* a Man whose steps are continually being tracked, and who, withdrawn as He is from our bodily eyes, is still discerned by those who unweariedly haunt the spots where once He sojourned, and who seek Him on His mother's knees, by the borders of the lake, on the mountain top, in the secret paths among the valleys, under the shadow of the olive-trees, or in the silence of the desert. There *is* a Man who has died and been buried, but whose sleeping and waking is still watched by us ; whose every word still vibrates in our hearts, producing there something more than love, for it gives life to those virtues of which love is the mother. There *is* a Man who, long ages ago, was fastened to a gibbet ; and that Man is every day taken down from the throne of His passion by thousands of adorers. There *is* a Man who was once scourged, slain, and crucified, but whom an ineffable passion has raised from death and infamy, and made the object of an unfailing love, which finds all in Him, — peace, honor, joy ; nay, ecstasy. There *is* a Man who, pursued to death in His own time with unextinguishable hate, has demanded apostles and martyrs from each successive generation, and has never failed to find them. There *is* one Man, and one alone, who has established His love upon earth ; and it is Thou, oh, my Jesus ! Thou who hast been pierced, to baptize, to anoint, to consecrate me in Thy love ; and whose very name at this moment suffices to move my whole being, and to tear from me these words in spite of myself."

His habit of constructing an argument was philosophical and intuitional. In his series of discourses on Jesus Christ, he very finely constructs his argument on the public power of Christ with these foundation sentences: "No being can manifest itself save by the elements contained within itself, which constitute its nature. Now all beings, of what kind soever, contain but three elements; namely, substance, force, and law, — substance, which is their centre of being; force, which is their action; law, which is the measure of their action. Substance, force, and law, all these are in an atom; all these are in God, who is the Father of the atom."

His closing sentence in the panegyric upon Daniel O'Connell contains the very soul of rhetoric. Speaking of those who were their leaders in the Church, he says: "Let us follow even from afar, but with faith, the glorious footsteps we have just surveyed; and if already you feel this desire; if the vain shadows of the past lessen in your mind; if your strength grows greater, and with it a presentiment that you will not be useless in the cause of the Church and mankind, — ah! do not seek the reason; say to yourselves that God has for once spoken to you by the soul of O'Connell."

His pathos was wonderful. I quote a passage from one of his discourses on God, which has become fairly classical: "Oh, visages of the saints! Gentle, yet firm lips, accustomed to name the name of God, and kiss the Cross of His Son; regards full of kindness and love, which perceived a brother in the most poor and lowly of creatures; hair silvered by meditation on eternity, sacred rays of the soul resplendent in old age and in death, — happy are those

who have beheld them ! more happy those who have understood them, and received from their transfigured glebe lessons of wisdom and immortality !”

In a discourse on the existence of God, he thus speaks of the intuitional argument : “ God has on His side Nature, intelligence, conscience, and society. . . . We have, too, a threefold intuition of God : a negative intuition in Nature ; a direct intuition in the ideas of truth and justice ; a practical intuition in human society.”

Here is an extract from his discourse on the creation of the world : “ I believe that this life is a road, that this light is a shadow, that this world is a prelude. And I believe with all my soul, at the price of my blood if needful, that God has created us to live by Him, to be enlightened by Him, to find in Him the substance of all that we see, is but an incapable and a painful image Yes, we all suffer ; woe to him that denies it ! but we suffer from the road, not from life. For my part, born to sorrow like the rest, charged with the two wounds of my forefathers, — anguish of soul and infirmity of body, — I bless God, who has made me and who waits for me, I am not to be consulted by Him about my condition ; between the nothingness from which He called me and the eternity He has promised me, the choice is doubtful only to parri- cidal folly, and God should have counted upon my virtue as He counted upon my goodness.”

Oftentimes he paints his own experiences, as in the following passage : —

“ After these long torments of doubt, if the veil be at last drawn aside, then the intelligence receives one of those vibrations whose

voluptuous pain no tongue can describe. Then Augustine arises, and for the first time, finding even friendship irksome, he withdraws to give current to his feelings in a torrent of solitary tears. He, who was lost in the vain love of glory and creatures, sees all the charms that deceived his youth vanish in a moment. Truth enraptured him ; the azure plains of Lombardy, the hopes of renown, the most tender professions of erring hearts, have no longer any power to move him ; he departs, leading his aged mother by the hand, and already from the port of Ostia he sees the obscure solitude, which he thinks will hide him for ever from the admiration of the world, as from the dreams of his past life. Tears of great men, heroic sacrifices, virtues born in a single hour and which ages cannot destroy, you teach us the price of truth ! You prove that it is indeed the perfection and beatitude of the intelligence !

“Two systems of philosophy dispute for empire : religious and traditional philosophy, and rational or critical philosophy. The first, even when it is mixed up with errors, settles minds and founds nations ; the second, even when it affirms a portion of truth, destroys what the other builds up.

“In a word, God, who is truth, has made Himself known to us by three revelations which are but one : by ideas, by the universe, and by language. Whoever breaks the bonds that unite these, confuses and divides the light that lightens every man that cometh into the world ; he condemns himself to a state of ignorance which knowledge does but increase ; he will live at hazard like a being without principle or end, because he will voluntarily have abdicated, with truth, — that is to say, with the knowledge of God, — the highest means given us to accomplish our destiny ; which is to tend towards God, and, by imitating Him, to obtain the perfection of His nature and the beatitude of His eternal life.”

Here again is undoubtedly another leaf from his own inmost feelings : “God recognizes in His saints the apostles, the martyrs, the virgins, the doctors, the hermits, the

hospitallers, who have before confessed Him and served Him in the tribulations of the world. The saints, in their turn, recognize in God the being to whom they gave their undivided love in the time of their sufferings and their liberty. Nothing is foreign to them in the sentiments which they feel ; nothing is new to them in their heart. They love Him whom they have chosen ; they enjoy Him to whom they have given themselves ; they ardently embrace Him whom they already possessed ; their love expands in the certainty and joy of their union : but it is not separated from the stalk that bore it. God gathers, but he does not detach it ; He crowns, but does not change it."

The following introduction to his discourse on man as a moral being, is a characteristic example of his eloquence : —

"Before entering upon this grave subject, gentlemen, I have two requests to address to you. I pray you, first, never to applaud me, whatever may be the sentiment that moves your hearts. Not that I do not comprehend the involuntary movement which, even at the feet of altars, causes an assembly to stand up in unanimous witness of its sympathy and its faith. But although on certain occasions their acclamations might appear excusable, so much do they spring with piety from the souls of an auditory, nevertheless I conjure you to respect the constant tradition of Christendom, which is to respond to the word of God only by the silence of love and the immobility of respect. You owe this to God ; you owe it also, perhaps, to him who speaks to you in His name. Although he may not have been tempted into pride by your applause, he may be suspected of not being insensible to it : it may be supposed that, instead of giving freely to you that which he has freely received, he comes to seek its price in the glory of popularity, — a

recompense sometimes honorable but always fragile ; and still more fragile, more vain, between those who receive and him who gives the lessons of eternity.

“The second request I would address to you, is in favor of a nation to which, on more than one occasion, I have already approved my respectful attachment. Yesterday, three noble sons of Poland visited me : they told me that four thousand of their companions, after fifteen years of exile, were about to approach their country with the consent of France, which opens to them her gates ; and of Germany, which permits them to pass through her territory. They asked me, after having obtained permission from the chief of this diocese, here present, to beg of you a last proof of your pious fraternity ; for if time has respected their glory and not lessened their courage, it has left them those precious remains and nothing more. I bent before their desire as before their misfortune : I present them to you together. You will not give them alms ; for, although that word is dear to your Christian hearts, there are times when the heroism of misfortune constrains you to seek a higher tithe. You will not pay them tribute ; although that word supposes a debt, and a debt of an important character, yet it does not sufficiently express the unction of Christian language. Therefore, borrowing an expression of the Middle Ages, I ask you to give them a *viaticum* ; that is to say, the travelling pay given in those times to the members of religious orders, and to the knights who went to combat for the emancipation of Christendom.

“You will give a viaticum to these sons of another hallowed land ; to these soldiers of another generous cause : you will give them the triple viaticum of honor, exile, and hope.”

Such is a brief outline of the character and career of this last and greatest of French orators and mystics.

That power which he turned into the line of voluntary self-renunciation and self-abnegation might have shaped and guided the religious reform which yet awaits the future

of France. His successor, Hyacinthe, awaits to-day the verdict of posterity.

Lacordaire's life shows us a certain amount of mental strength and intellectual brilliancy, joined to deep religious reverence and devotion. His character exhibits a great versatility of gifts, moral and spiritual; but at the same time we can clearly see in him an instability which was sadly weakening and destructive of moral force. A little less faith and reverence for the past; a little more knowledge of the world, and more cosmopolitanism of spirit, — would in all probability have thrown him into the seething political world, where he might have been seen in the succession of Thiers, Guizot, Coquerel, and Gambetta. But his superabundant imagination continually made him assume that the Church of Rome, with its ultramontane claims, was the one fixed and settled fact in the changing and uncertain condition of Europe; and when he could not stand alone, and feared the atheistic drift of political radicalism, his heart spoke up and called his mental struggles mere ideas, so that he felt the Christian above all things must have a detached heart, which must chain down his ideas alone; and thus he yielded, as Edmund Burke says all men yield, by falling on the side of their natural propensities. Only, in the case of Lacordaire, these very natural propensities were in themselves religious propensities.

VI.

REPRESENTATIVE MEN OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

KEBLE. — MARSH. — ROBERTSON.

LORD MACAULAY has compared the English Constitution, with its many defects and its curious outgrowth of precedents, to a venerable wall, so overgrown with ivy and creeping vines, that to tear out the intruding vine is to destroy the old wall itself. To eradicate the defects growing out of the English Constitution is to destroy it; and, therefore, to save it, and yet preserve its identity, the tender pruning-knife of the cautious conservative, not the axe of the radical laid to the root of the tree, is needed.

This illustration of Macaulay is as true with reference to the Church as it is to the State. It is the question Mr. Gladstone asked, some time ago, in his article entitled, "Is the Church of England Worth Preserving?" Would it be better to let the ancient régime go to pieces, and then erect a new system out of the old elements; or is it possible upon the old foundation to reconstruct the edifice? To understand the subject before us, we must look at the problem of the Church of England as a triangle. Which-ever line you take as your base, there are the other two

sides and the three angles. All who are in that Church, must be somewhere within the triangle. And yet, like the sheet seen in the vision of Simon Peter at Joppa, there are all manner of souls enclosed in its communion, and sheltered by the width of its creeds and articles. Pusey and Ryle, Maurice and Hugh McNeil, Dean Stanley and the Earl of Shaftesbury, John Keble and Frederick W. Robertson, William Marsh and Father Ignatius, the descendants of Newman, who plead for "Tract No. XC." and the defenders of the "Essays and Reviews," — all fly home to the Church and her articles, as doves fly home to their dove-cotes in a storm, and know their places and the paths which lead to them, in the same instinctive way in which the animals found their way to the ark in Noah's time. Or, to come back to our mathematical figure, they know full well which is their base in the Church, and which are but the other two sides.

The Church of England has been a national growth. Cranmer, we know, steered its way through a reformation which was not a revolution, and thus preserved all that was good in the historic Church of the centuries past, and never surrendered the possession of the house, or gave up the title-deed of the Anglican Church to Rome.

Then, at the Reformation period, while Luther and Calvin, and Melancthon and Zwinglius, and English Non-conformists were making new churches, Latimer and Ridley and Richard Hooker were refurnishing the old homestead, — making that house English and Protestant, which before had been Romish and corrupt.

At the very beginning, then, of the English national

Church there sprang up, naturally and inevitably, two opposing schools of thought. One of these looked towards the past and the old state of things, and clung to the Sacraments; the other looked towards the new departure, and exalted preaching as the better means of grace.

Under Elizabeth and Edward VI. and Charles I., that party, with its high views of the Church, came forward into prominence, with old customs revived, and with new rites and ceremonies.

After the restoration of Charles II., and the re-establishment of the Church, the influence of a new school of liberalists, known as the Cambridge Platonists, was felt; who, in reacting both against Puritanism and the undue demands of Prelacy, revived the philosophy of Plato upon a Christian basis. This in turn was followed by the spiritual deadness of the days of Queen Anne and the Georges. Then came the great awakening of Methodism, making itself felt in the Evangelical movement, headed by such men as Cecil, Simeon, Romaine, Bickersteth, and Legh Richmond. And then, in our own day, there has come another later budding of this same historic tree. The philosophy of Coleridge has reproduced itself in the Church of England, and has given an impetus to philosophical and critical study, which shows itself to-day in a third school of thought, known as Broad-churchmanship. Here then, in this same national Church, we perceive three tendencies,—towards the priestly, pastoral, and student types of ministry. We notice three distinct phases of Church-life,—the tendency towards institutionalism; the tendency towards a directly spiritual conception of our relationship

to Christ, and of our whole religious life, as individualism ; and the tendency towards critical inquiry and philosophical accuracy, and the widening of the Church by reducing its dogmatic basis.

Dr. Bushnell, in his third chapter of "Nature and the Supernatural," shows the distinction between "Powers" and "Things ;" and argues that the "Powers" — man, and the angels and superterrestrial intelligences — are, after all, the principal magnitudes ; that Nature is only a field for the powers, and that God has created us, not for one dead level, one uniform standard of character, but that in our diversity of nature we may reflect some portion of the Divine Mind, and give forth each some individual particle of truth, — just as each raindrop in the sunshine helps to form the perfect bow. With this thought as our guide to open the door of our subject, let us leave the dogmatic schools, and notice the character of three representative men, who, in the attractiveness of their private lives and habits of thought, exhibit the respective phases of their Church-life. I have taken them, not because they were in any sense the leaders of their party, but simply because they were "powers," — each in their own way. I refer to John Keble, William Marsh, and Frederick W. Robertson.

I. The motto of Scripture which Keble has placed at the beginning of his "Christian Year," is the simplest and truest exponent of the man himself: "In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength." His preface to that book of hymns is also the very mirror of the inner man. The high and sober standard of feelings in matters

of practical religion, as connected with the authorized formularies and liturgy of the Prayer-book, is the one cardinal doctrine upon which his religious character and experience are hung. The key-note with him is the dear Mother Church. His soul basked in its memories and reverent traditions. He loved to be known, only as a parish priest of the Church of England; and, in the stillness and seclusion of Hursley Vicarage, he cared not for the restless activity of the present generation. He seemed to forget that he sustained any other relation, to the world around him, than that of the parish clergyman, whose duty it was rightly and duly to administer the Holy Sacraments, and faithfully preach the word of God. He was a true son of the Church, — belonging to the old Cavalier school of Charles I., believing in “divine right,” and seeing in the Church the complement of the State. His hymns for the Gunpowder-plot, the death of King Charles the Martyr, and the Restoration of the royal family, show him to have been a faithful follower in the steps of the Primate Laud. In full sympathy with Pusey and the Oxford theologians; rejoicing in spirit at the prospect of a Catholic revival, which was in some way to link once more the wandering Anglican, with the sister-churches of the Greek and Roman communion; holding to the strongest views of priestly power, — he is still loved by every Christian heart familiar with English song; his hymns are the household thoughts of every Christian family, and are the richest legacy of holy hymnody we have had, since the days of George Herbert and Henry Vaughan. That Keble held to the highest interpretation of the Sacraments, which the school of New-

man and Pusey could devise, is evident from the entire theology of "The Christian Year." It is generally conceded now, I believe, that, according to his dying request, a single line in his hymn on the Gunpowder-plot has been changed by one of his executors, so as to read (with reference to the Eucharist), —

" Here present in the heart,
As in the hand."

It read before, in the earlier editions, —

" Here present in the heart,
Not in the hand."

And yet, though fully sympathizing with that party which has been striving to restore the visible unity of the visible Church, — to secure which result Pusey had sent forth his "Eirenicon," — he was never seen in the dust of the struggle; his talents, which were shown by his career at Oxford, were seldom if ever used for the positive advancement of the Oxford reform; and he stands before us as one whose powers were consecrated to that which he considered his life-call, — the parish work of Hursley.

In one of his letters home, John Coleridge Patterson, — the faithful young martyr and Bishop of the Melanesian Islands, — writes as follows, full of his earlier impressions of the Oxford leaders: "I cannot quite understand Dr. Pusey's position; I am troubled at his coming out in public so much. There is to me something more like Dr. Pusey in the thought of a wise, learned, holy man, moving men's consciences, and informing their minds by books, sermons, and direct influence through the very many men who seek his

advice." Surely this regret could not apply to Keble, whose garments were never soiled in the dust and strife of the ecclesiastical arena.

Keble stands before us, then, as one who, by training, temperament, and tradition, was a thorough defender of the High-Church position. He was a man whose life was pure and true and holy; one who chained down his speculations to the rock of his simple faith in the historic Christ of the Ages, and who cast out the spirit of doubt, as the disciples cast out devils, by a resolute appeal to the all-powerful Spirit of God. He stands before the Christian Church as a man whose convictions were mellowed by prayerfulness and piety; whose gentleness made him truly great, and whose actions were always anointed with the fragrance and purity of a noble nature.

" Nor ever narrowness, or spite,
Or villain fancy fleeting by,
Drew in the expression of an eye
Where God and Nature met in light ! "

2. The Rev. William Marsh is our representative of the Evangelical or Low-Church school. His memoir — which was published some ten years ago by his daughter, the author of "English Hearts and Hands," and the "Life of Hedley Vicars" — portrays to us the inner heart of this earnest phase of Christian life.

Miss Marsh has become widely known throughout Great Britain, by her efforts to better the spiritual condition of the thousands of workmen, who, in the building of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, were brought in direct communication with her father's family, at Beckenham Rectory.

Throughout this memoir, there are constant allusions to the workingmen's classes and Bible-readings, which have become so well known to the readers of "Hedley Vicars" and "The Victory Won." And it has been because of its influence over these masses, that this evangelical phase of Church-life has been such a power. Of course, we are familiar with the objections to this school. It is said to be superficial and emotional and narrow. It was severely handled in that sarcastic paper, "The Comedy of Convocation." The Rev. Lavender Kids continually answers Arch-deacon Jolly and the other debaters with the well-known formula,— "The Bible, the Bible, and nothing but the Bible!"

A certain English reviewer, in commenting upon this life of Dr. Marsh, remarks that it would be more readable, if it had not so much of an evangelical dialect. This may be very true; but it is only an old objection in a new form. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes complains of what he calls the polarization of certain words and phrases by Christian people; by which he means that they change the use of words, or give them an arbitrary and conventional significance. And it is owing to the fact that the author of "Ecce Homo," a few years ago, broke through the habit of using arbitrarily-chosen religious expressions, that his presentation of old and well-known truths appeared so fresh and attractive.

But the question of "cant" is a matter inwrought in human nature, and not necessarily in this or that distinctive phase of Church-life. The Romanist and the Unitarian have each their cant, when they live in their ruts. Cant

is not alone a specialty of the Evangelicals. It may be a religious malaria peculiar to their district : but they are not all down with it on that account.

It was in the bright scene of a ball-room, that Marsh was first to hear the voice of God, speaking with power to his soul, by the sudden death of a young friend at his side. He bought, in his subsequent distress of mind, a Roman Catholic book of devotion, but found no comfort from it. After reading the autobiography of John Newton, he began a diligent reading of the Scriptures ; and finally appeared before the Rev. Richard Cecil as a candidate for the ministry. After a series of changes, during which he was in fullest sympathy with Legh Richmond, and Simeon of Cambridge, he ended his quiet, uneventful career at Beddington Rectory. Early in the days of the Oxford movement, Dr. Marsh corresponded with some of its chief leaders on the subject of the Reformation ; and, in a letter addressed to Dr. Pusey on this subject, he stated his own creed, with regard to that cardinal doctrine Justification by Faith, in the following words : " We are justified freely by grace, meritoriously by Christ, instrumentally by faith, evidentially by good works." To the third clause of this, objection was made ; and the sentence, " Instrumentally by the sacrament of baptism," was finally substituted. And yet, though he was very positive on matters of conviction, he had a strong individuality of character, which led him very often to do what was right in his own eyes, without waiting for the sanction of his party. Kingsley, who met him several times at the Leamington Rectory, thus wrote of him : " I recollect him now, a man who had been peculi-

arly graceful and handsome, with the noble air of the old school. Belonging to the Evangelical school, to which all later schools owe their vitality, he seemed no bigot, but ever ready to welcome novel thoughts which did not interfere with fundamental truth. He fulfilled my notion of what the purest German evangelicals of the last century must have been like, — those who, with Spener and Franke, reawakened vital Christianity among a dry and dead generation given up to the letter of Lutheranism, and forgetful of its spirit.”

His interview with Dr. Arnold of Rugby is thus described by his daughter: “They met but once; and differing upon some points as they did, it was but the lovelier to see how their hearts sprang to meet each other, drawn by the mutual sympathy of their noble natures, and by the yet stronger attraction of love to their Saviour.” A few years later, when Dr. Marsh had read with his family Dean Stanley’s record of his friend’s life and character, as he closed the book, he said, his eyes filled with tears: “I am like those boys of Arnold’s: I don’t know how to bear his loss.” His death, as described by his daughter, is a fitting close to so pure and calm a life: “He signed for the windows to be opened wide, and the sunshine came streaming in on his heavenly face. After the heavy rain in the night, every thing was looking refreshed and lovely; and the clematis then in blossom, which hung round the library window, was glittering in the sun as it formed the frame through which he took his last look into the garden. He lay tranquilly, surrounded by those who loved him best. Then, with serene dignity and almost a leisurely calm,

he raised his hand and closed his own eyes, to spare us one pang, and to draw the curtain that would hide earth from his sight; and thus, as the church-bells began to chime for the service, with a few gentle breathings his spirit passed away."

Surely, the Church of England owes to the lives and influence of such men as these a debt of gratitude, for the simplicity and purity of their holy examples. The Evangelical school has ever guarded most strictly the *very heart of Christianity*, in its unfaltering demand for the supremacy of personal religion over every other phase of Church-life.

3. I have taken Robertson as the representative of the Broad-Church school, because his is the most attractive life that can be found, as the exponent of this later departure in the Church of England. Stanley, with his independence and self-reliance, or the late Canon Kingsley, or the Brothers Hare, or the serene and undisturbed Maurice, or Dr. Arnold, — all disciples of Coleridge's philosophy, would perhaps better represent the progressive tenets of this movement. In fact, it is very much to be doubted whether Robertson at last considered himself a disciple of any party. He recoiled from the so-called Oxford reformers; he voluntarily parted company from the Evangelicals, — and yet, strange as was his anomalous position, he was ever a loyal and devoted son of the Church of England. He was one of those persons who could rest satisfied in the philosophical fitness of the Establishment, but not in the superficial talk of mere churchiness or anti-churchiness, which were the rallying-cries and shibboleths of the

parties he found about him. He loved the military idea upon which Church authority was based. Discipline, obedience, command, authority, — all these conceptions, were to him rational, and hence rightful. In fact, the military idea ran throughout his entire nature, and made itself perceived in his carriage and conversation. His experience in army life was an ever fresh impulse to him, in the bickerings and strifes into which it was his sad lot to fall. In a recently-published book, entitled "Last Leaves from the Journal of the Rev. Julian Charles Young," there is a hitherto-unpublished letter from Robertson, in which he speaks of his own profession as follows: "It certainly is the most quarrelsome of all professions in the matter of a blue or green window, prevenient moonshine, or a bishop's night-cap; and the most cowardly when it comes to a matter of right and wrong, — of what they saw and what they did not see. Unless clergymen of the type I am alluding to are forced to serve in the army for five years previous to ordination, to make them men, let alone gentlemen, I think the Church as an establishment had better be snuffed out." Surely, Robertson was suffering from some stinging criticism or from a dyspeptic turn, when he penned these lines! But he was strangely intolerant of men and measures which fell below his ideal.

In Frothingham's *Life of Theodore Parker*, we come across this same combativeness, this chip-on-the-shoulder phase of character. It was this which led Parker on from one radical step to another; while the unconcerned Sage of Concord — the tranquil Emerson — lived above the storm which his "Oversoul" teachings and Transcendental

philosophy occasioned. He was always calm and unruffled and gentle. He lived for the after-judgment of history, not for the noisy verdict of the hour. And just what Emerson was to Parker, Maurice was to Robertson: he did not answer back, but quietly waited for the approving judgment of posterity.

The memoir of the life of Rev. Frederick W. Robertson, published by the Rev. Stopford Brooke, has achieved a popularity almost unparalleled in the annals of biography; while his lectures and sermons are to be found in every library, which has in it any thing like a fair proportion of the literature of the day. This memoir is so painfully sad, that at times it is a positive relief to turn from its delineations of Robertson's real life to the lofty ideal life which his sermons everywhere portray. For the experiences of life which Robertson preached and illustrated were almost always drawn from his own personal consciousness, and not from the imagined experiences of others. Hence it was that his illustrations were like living pictures, for they were always the pictures of real life. A case of this kind occurs in a sermon on the Doubt of Thomas, where the recorded experience of Thomas reads like a page from Robertson's own diary. The sermon I refer to is No. xxi. of the Second Series, where the following description of his own life appears: "There is another class of men whose reflective powers are stronger than their susceptible: they think out truth, they do not feel it. Often highly-gifted and powerful minds, they cannot rest until they have made all their ground certain; they do not feel safe so long as there is one possibility left; they prove all things. Such

a man was Thomas. He has been called the rationalist among the Apostles. Happy such men cannot be: an anxious and inquiring mind dooms its possessor to unrest. . . . When such men *do* believe, it is a belief with all the heart and soul for life. When a subject has been once thoroughly and suspiciously investigated, and settled once for all, the adherence of the whole reasoning man—if given in at all—is given frankly and heartily, as Thomas gave it,—‘My Lord and my God!’” Now, what is this but a confession of Robertson’s own life? Does not such a passage give us the philosophy of Robertson’s sadness and nervous anxiety for far-reaching results? “Happy such men cannot be: an anxious and inquiring mind *dooms* its possessor to unrest!”

Robertson’s mind was one of those which, while it perceived at once the traditional difficulties in the way of Christianity, perceived also the underlying philosophy of those great truths which, because of their fitness, commended themselves to that exalted faculty which Schleiermacher was so pleased to call “the religious consciousness.” This is best shown by a sermon which comes to my mind almost at random as an illustration of this feature of his mind. It is Sermon No. vi. in vol. iii. (American edition). The subject is, “The Illusiveness of Life,” founded on those words in the Epistle to the Hebrews, “By faith Abraham, when he was called to go out to a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed; and he went out, not knowing whither he went.” There is a tinge of the most pathetic sadness running throughout the entire sermon, and yet, at the same time, there is

the most unmistakable "reasonable, religious, and holy hope."

No doubt there were many occult causes for that sadness which showed itself in Robertson's life. By temperament he was high-strung and sensitive. Then, too, his early religious life was an unnatural one, and the strong reaction from it, is the secret of his subsequent disturbed state of mind. Never did St. Jerome in the desert, or St. Benedict in his cell at Castro Casino, lead a more thoroughly ascetic and mystic life, than did Robertson at Brazenose College, Oxford: looking continually in upon himself in a morbidly-religious way, and striving to shape and mould his character into conformity with Henry Martyn and David Brainerd, whose memoirs he was constantly studying.

He began with a ripened religious life before he himself was ripe for it. He had to build again and more profoundly in his maturer days; and while, in this second growth of knowledge he was trying to determine which was solid ground and which was only marshland, the messenger of God called him home.

If to the working-men of Brighton, for whom he lived and labored, and to his heart-broken people and fellow-townsmen, who followed him by thousands to the grave, any words were ever applicable, they are those of Mrs. Browning, at the grave of Cowper:—

" Oh, man ! this man in brotherhood •
Your weary way beguiling,
Groaned inly while he taught you peace,
And died while you were smiling."

Surely, any church is worth preserving which, within an ecclesiastical circumference such as the Church of England possesses, can nourish and support such representative men as Keble, Marsh, and Robertson.

VII.

THE LEVITICAL ILLUSTRATION OF THE
DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT.

I PROPOSE in this paper to examine the Levitical illustration of the doctrine of the Atonement, as we find the doctrine explained by those features of the Jewish worship, which culminated in the mysterious sacrificial acts of the great day of Atonement.

This entire dispensation of Moses and the tabernacle, and the Levitical priesthood, was a great outline picture of the Christian system which was to come afterwards, just as the Christian system is an outline map of the reality which underlies it. Christ came not to destroy and uproot the revelation which was given upon Sinai, but only to fill it out and make it perfect and complete. Let us then study out the meaning of the Jewish day of Atonement,—outlined to us in the thick, dark clouds of smoke hovering over the court of the tabernacle, and in the crimson line of ebbing life-blood flowing from the brazen altar, and dropping from the stained and bespattered priests!

The services connected with this great day of Atonement were kept upon the tenth day of the Jewish month of Tisri, — corresponding to our October, — five days before the

Feast of Tabernacles. Some have regarded it as a commemoration of the day on which Moses came down from the Mount with the second tables of the Law, and proclaimed to the gathered people the forgiveness of their great sin in worshipping the golden calf. Others have supposed that it was instituted on account of the sin of Nadab and Abihu. However this may be as to its early origin, we find the observances fully described in the Book of Leviticus. The day was kept by the people as a solemn Sabbath, and no work was done. It was on this occasion only, that the high-priest was allowed to enter the "holy of holies," the innermost chamber of the tabernacle. Having bathed his person, and having dressed himself in the white linen garments, he brought forward a young bullock for a sin-offering, — purchased at his own cost on account of himself and his family, — and two young goats for a sin-offering, with a ram for a burnt-offering for the people. He then presented the two goats before the Lord at the door of the tabernacle and cast lots upon them. On one lot was written, "For Jehovah;" on the other was written, "For Azazel." Then he sacrificed the bullock. Next he took some of its blood, and, filling a censer with burning coals from the brazen altar, he took a handful of incense and entered into the "holy place." After this he threw the incense upon the coals, and enveloped the mercy-seat in a cloud of smoke. Then dipping his finger into the blood, he sprinkled it seven times before the mercy-seat eastward. Hereupon the work and mission of these two doomed goats appear. That goat upon which the lot for Jehovah had fallen was

slain, and the "holy place" and the "holy of holies" was sprinkled in the same way as before. After this the high-priest laid his hands upon the head of the goat on which the lot for Azazel had fallen, and confessed over it all the sins of the people. The goat was then led by a man chosen for the purpose into the wilderness, — into a land not inhabited, — and was there let loose.

It is then with this strange feature of these two goats, — the one offered in sacrifice, and the other sent away into the unknown wilderness, — that we have to do. The description taken from Leviticus xvi. is as follows : —

"And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats : one lot for the Lord, and the other lot for the scape-goat. And Aaron shall bring the goat upon which the Lord's lot fell, and offer him for a burnt-offering. But the goat on which the lot fell to be the scape-goat shall be presented alive before the Lord, to make an atonement with him, and to let him go for a scape-goat into the wilderness. And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness. And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited, and he shall let go the goat in the wilderness."

We cannot enter upon the subject of the various rites and ceremonies of the occasion, the sacrifices and services of the priest, and the attendant ministration of the Levites. In Dean Stanley's "*History of the Jewish Church*," this entire round of ceremonies is described in such a vivid manner that it stands out to the memory in a way never to be forgotten. But I want now not to make a picture of

the entire scene of this strange day of Atonement, but to find out the meaning of this scape-goat, and the goat slain for the sins of the people.

We find some curious particulars regarding this scape-goat in the Book of Leviticus, and in the different books of the Talmud. The lots by which the goats were originally chosen were of boxwood ; but in later times they were of gold. Then, when the scape-goat was chosen, a piece of scarlet cloth was tied to his horns, in order that he might ever afterwards be known, and that there might be no possibility of a mistake. The high-priest then placed his hands upon the head of the goat, and offered the following prayer : —

“O Lord, the house of Israel thy people have trespassed and rebelled before Thee ! I beseech Thee, O Lord, forgive now their trespasses and sins which thy people have committed, as it is written in the law of Moses thy servant, saying that, In that day there shall be an atonement for you to cleanse you, that ye may be clean from all your sins before the Lord.”

The goat was then goaded and rudely treated by the people, till it was led away by the man appointed. As soon as it reached a certain spot which was regarded as the commencement of the wilderness, a signal was made by some sort of watch-fire, or runner, or telegraphic contrivance to the high-priest who waited for it. Then when the priest received the news that the goat had reached the wilderness, and had gone into the unknown waste, he read to the assembled people the lessons from the Law, and offered up some prayers. He then bathed himself, re-

sumed his colored garments, and offered up the regular evening sacrifices. After this he washed again, put on the white garments, and entered the most "holy place" for the fourth time, to bring out the censer and the incense plate. This ended the special rites of the day.

Even so late as the time of Herod, in the days of the nation's slavery and at the period of the utter degeneracy of the Church, we find this custom of sending away the scape-goat still in vogue. In Dean Stanley's "History of the Jewish Church," at the period of Herod the Great, he thus describes this rite:—

"The ceremony of the scape-goat still continued, though it had all the appearance of a ritual in its last stage of decadence. The terrified creature was conveyed from the Temple of Olivet on a raised bridge, to avoid the jeers of the irreverent pilgrims of Alexandria, who used to pluck the poor animal's long flaxy hair, with the rude cries of, 'Get along! away with you!' Then he was handed on from keeper to keeper by short stages over hill and valley. At each hut where he rested, an obsequious guide said to him, 'Here is your food; here is your drink.' The last in this strange succession led him to a precipice above the fortress of Dok and hurled him down, and the signal was sent back to Jerusalem that the deed was accomplished, by the waving of handkerchiefs all along the rocky road."

The meaning of the goat marked "for Jehovah," and sacrificed in the morning, is clear and plain enough. It is upon this other goat, bearing the sins of the people and going out as a sin-bearer into the unknown wastes of the wilderness, that the special interest of this subject gathers. What was this "Azazel," for whom the scape-goat was

marked and to whom he was sent? Who was he? What does it all mean?

One interpretation is that it was the name of the desert-place to which he was sent. Another view is that this "Azazel" was a demon, an evil spirit belonging to the pre-Mosaic religion! All through the religious history of the race, there has appeared this unknown power of evil. Sometimes it is represented as an impersonal essence; at other times this opposing power has assumed a personal form and name. In the Bible account of the Fall of man it is the serpent; in later days, after the Babylonian captivity, when the Jewish people had become familiar with the theological views of the Chaldeans, it was the personal Satan, the seducer of souls, as described by the unknown author of the Book of Job. In the dualism of Zoroaster and the Persian fire-worship, it is seen in the opposing forces of Ormuzd, the power of light and goodness, and Ahriman, the power of evil and of darkness. In Grecian mythology, it was the Furies; in Egypt, it was the evil principle of Typhon.

And now, not to bring forward any other theories with lesser weight and reason, it would seem as if this sending away of the sin-bearing goat into the unknown desert wastes; this removing of the sins of the nation, and the carrying of them far off into the wilderness out of the sight of Jehovah and of the people, — stands as a type and figure of man's ascribing to the Powers of darkness the sin and guilt which he has suffered. It was not as a bribe to the Devil that this sin-bearing animal was sent out from the camp: it was to show that now, since their sins were

pardoned and their sacrifices were accepted, their guilt was carried back by this unconscious messenger to that author of evil from whom they had suffered so much.

There were two animals instead of one, simply because a single material object could not in its nature symbolically embrace the whole truth which was to be expressed. It is evident that the goat sent away, could not stand in the same relation to Azazel as the other did to Jehovah. The idea to be set before the Israelites was the absolute annihilation, by the atoning sacrifice, of sin as a separation between Jehovah and his people; the complete setting free of their consciences. This idea was in after times expressed by the well-known words of the Psalmist, "As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our transgressions from us;" and again in the words of the prophet Micah, "Thou wilt cast all their sins into the depth of the sea." And thus by this act of the scape-goat, the sins of the people, pardoned by the other sacrificed victim marked "for Jehovah," were sent back to the author of sin himself. This then was the essence of the great day of Atonement, as it stood to the religious consciousness of the Jewish people, — that nation which we believe God chose to be in a peculiar sense the depositary of his revealed truth and knowledge.

We are prepared then, in the light of this Jewish ceremonial, to consider this great doctrine of the Christian faith, — the fact of our Lord's atonement for sin. In the creeds and articles and anthems of the Church, we find this fact of Christ's dying for us the central pivot upon which Christianity hangs. If it does not come home to

us in the formal statement of the definite creed technically worded and expressed, it is one of the heart's dearest refrains as we sing in the Gloria in Excelsis, "Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us!" or in the words of the Te Deum, "When Thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers."

Of course, then, it would happen in the history of Christian theology, that this central doctrine of the faith should very soon become formulated into some theory, and that this theory would represent the best and deepest thought of the age in which it was born. Thus it comes to pass, as Professor Shedd has shown in his "History of Christian Doctrine," that there have been steps of belief in the progressive statements of this doctrine.

Among the primitive Fathers of the age immediately following the Apostolic period, we find that the death of Christ is represented as ransoming man from the power and slavery of the Devil. These theories are based on such passages as we find in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "That through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is the Devil." Then later on, during the latter half of the fourth century, we find another theory coming prominently forward, the result of the clearly-cut and well-defined views of Athanasius, as he expressed himself at the Nicene Council when the opinions of Arius were finally condemned. His conception of the Atonement was that it was an exchange, or *substitution*, of penalty. The substitute for the death of the sinner was the death of the Saviour. This idea of substitution runs all through

the statements of the age, and with various changes and modifications remained as the prevailing theory of the doctrine. Then, in the eleventh century, Anselm, at Canterbury in England, published his theory of *satisfaction*. This marked the bursting forth of a new spirit of inquiry, — the dawning of a new era, — after five hundred years of official silence upon the subject. In his book entitled “*Cur Deus Homo*,” he lays down the position, on philosophical and metaphysical grounds, that the Atonement was necessary to satisfy the claims, not of Satan, but of God’s justice. It is then from this position that the varied and modified views of this doctrine, at present prevailing among the Orthodox theologians, have arisen. The Reformation, while it rent the Church ecclesiastically, and overturned many doctrines of the day, left this doctrine as Anselm formulated it, to be the residuary deposit upon which the thoughts of after generations might rest. Then came Calvinism and Deism and Unitarianism, as a something between a mere belief in a God and the tightly compacted system of Orthodoxy. Calvin said the Atonement was limited in its beneficial effects only to the elect; Grotius said, on the other hand, it was only a moral exhibition of great love; while others said it was a relic of Mediævalism, — only a theological myth, — and that, in reality, there was no such thing at all!

Of course, the age we live in has had its full say upon this subject. It is impossible, in the narrow limits of a single paper, to state the varying interpretations of different schools of thought among the Orthodox, all based upon this prevailing idea of satisfaction. One school declares

that what our Lord accomplished was a satisfaction to the government of God ; another that it was to his holy and paternal character. Thus Andover and Princeton keep up the cannonade. Dr. Bushnell surprised the Christian world by saying in his famous book, "The Vicarious Sacrifice," that the Atonement was subjective in character, that it was Christ's life and teachings and sympathy which saved men, and that the world had been looking only on one side of the problem before this, in considering Christ's death as every thing. And certainly Dr. Bushnell has dragged out to the light one important side of this subject, — the boundless, living, working sympathy of the ever-living Son of God ; *but this is not all the side*. "This is he that came by water and by blood," says St. John : not by water only, — not by teaching and the purity of ethics alone, — but by water and blood ; by sympathy and love ; and by *something more*, — by an act which in some way was sacrificial, and which in God's sight was effective in breaking down, for all time, that something which had before kept God and man apart !

MacLeod Campbell, in his most helpful contribution to this subject of the Atonement, re-echoes the strain of truth that the Atonement is above every thing else a revelation of the Father's heart of love, and that Christ in his twofold nature is the revealer of God and the interpreter of the human soul.

This doctrine of the Atonement through the sacrifice of Christ has been and may be most shockingly distorted and abused. Rude and unthinking yet zealous men talk about the blood of Jesus appeasing the wrath of the Father, and

glow at times with a savage rhetoric over the Cross of Calvary, until we feel "this cannot be God's truth!" And yet we know it is the deepest and profoundest feelings of the soul which can be most successfully satirized and parodied. The abuse of any great truth should teach us, not to give up that truth, but only to hold it upon grounds which are far above abuse.

I have read lately the statement of a certain teacher in Boston, who in some vague way calls himself a Christian minister, that it was time this idea of a bloody trap-door into heaven, through which a highly favored few might pass, was abandoned. But get beneath this statement: see the way in which, in this suffering world, God has written it as a law in our nature, that it is only by sacrifice the best results of character can be obtained, —and then who can refuse this same privilege to the Almighty?

If in the original creation we see this principle of sacrifice; if, in the throes of the mother vicariously suffering for the life of her little one, and bound to that little one because of the deep lines of sacrifice contained in the very fact of its birth, we see this principle of vicariousness as the hidden granite upon which the superstructure of all truly noble character rests, — can we refuse God himself this privilege of sacrifice, which is the innermost attribute of love?

Nay, rather, we should bind ourselves anew to this central doctrine of the Christian Church which has come down to us through all the ages, from the first preaching of the gospel, and which contains in it deeper and more profound truth than can ever be found in the easy, flippant flings

of doubt. For the very essence of the gospel, and the root of truth, after all, is in the so-called Patripassian heresy; for if God has not suffered to save man, how are we saved at all?

What, then, does this Jewish figure of the double offering of the animals teach us? Let us go back to the goat slain, and the goat sent away into the wilderness, which we have left for a few moments, and see. Here, then, is God's own type and figure of what that Atonement is, and how it is carried on. The slain goat for Jehovah we see plainly before us. The scape-goat sent away to carry off man's load of sin, and cancel the guilt of the people, we lose sight of in the unknown depths.

In the same way Jesus Christ dies for our sins, and saves us from their consequences: we see this sacrifice plainly and unmistakably before us. Once in time he comes to do the Father's will, and remove the obstacles that were in the way of man's return to God. But just *how* the Atonement atones; *how* Christ carries our sins; where he cancels them in the divine economy, and the exact method and meaning of God's plan of putting them away,—all this is a great mystery: it is like the vast wilderness into which the scape-goat entered. So, as we cannot handle these eternals in God's way, and may only get lost if we attempt it, it is best for us to cling to the acknowledged fact, the sacrifice slain, and not pursue the retreating method, the sacrifice sent away, into that which was a figure of the infinite. The goat slain stands for the *manifested fact*; the goat sent away, for the *hidden, unrevealed method* of the Atonement.

As the gifted Edward Irving says in one of his sermons, "Atonement is a mere notion, figure of speech, or similitude, until it be seen effected in the constitution of the person of Christ under these two wills or operations. I object not to the similitude taken from paying debts ; nor to the similitude taken from redeeming captives ; nor to the similitude taken from one man's dying for another ; nor to any of the infinite similitudes which St. Paul useth most eloquently for illustrating and enforcing the truth of the Atonement, or reconciliation : but the similitudes are to my mind only poor helps for expressing the largeness and completeness of the thing which is done by the Word's being made flesh." Christ did not die for a mere metaphor alone, called sin ; for a sentiment, or a guess, or a peculiar tradition of the Jewish race. He died for a great purpose ; and, however beautiful and instructive his life and teachings were in themselves, there still remains that great objective fact of his dying, as the Lamb of God, who came to take away the sins of the world.

Suppose some philanthropist were to visit the prisons of our land to alleviate the sufferings of their inmates, and should attempt their restoration ; suppose he ordered himself to be crucified before the windows of some loathsome prison ; and then, as he was dying, let us imagine him saying to the lookers-on from behind their iron bars, "See ! I am dying for you !" The helpless captives in their pity might say, "It is very kind in you to die for us ; but how does the fact of your death upon that cross affect the fact of our imprisonment within these walls ? It is beautiful in you, but utterly useless ; the mere act of your dying

cannot set us free." Precisely in the same way as this, let us be careful how we think of Christ's sacrifice as a piece of human sentiment, and lose the *connecting link* between his life and sacrifice, and the setting at liberty them which were bound. And then, on the other hand, let us remember that if we would hold this truth *profoundly* and *far above* the changing explanations of the shifting centuries of thought, we must hold it as a mystery which our best explanations only partially reveal. While we rejoice in the goat slain for our sins in the open fore-court of the tabernacle, we must remember that the other victim has gone upon its mysterious errand of carrying back the sins to the unknown Azazel, in the depths of the wilderness. Thus, I think, we should cling to the two sides of this subject, — the side which is revealed, and the side which is hidden.

Thank God! the Jesus Christ who saves us is not a theological figment, but a living person. The Christ of theology alone is chameleon-like in character. He is any thing the doctors and schoolmen choose to make him. He is in the sacrament of the Romanist, in the decree of the Calvinist, in the sentiment of the Socinian.

But just as you are a power to your child, though he may not be able to define or describe you; just as the violets of the mossy bank, or the opening lilies of the valley, are something very different to you, in your first walk in the balmy opening spring, from the dull explanations of them in the hand-book of botany, — so, after all, the personal and historical Christ, — that one whom we feel we have somehow known in the past history of the

world, — is now, has been, and will be in the future, something inexpressibly greater and different, than any thing or every thing men with their opposite systems say he is.

Were it vouchsafed to us once, for an afternoon, to walk with Jesus Christ now, along these branching roads which stretch towards the setting sun, as the disciples walked with him eighteen hundred years ago over the hills and valleys of Judea, I think our souls would speak out in a way of their own, and not in the phraseology of the books. We would ask for further light and knowledge, and devotedness and strength; we would value our fleeting moments, and would make ourselves strong in those places where we felt that we were weak. And when the time for our parting had come, and as from the disciples at Emmaus, our Lord had vanished from our sight, we would find that we had not been quoting from this or that textbook, but that the heart itself had shown unto each of us a more excellent way of its own.

Thus let us ever value our creeds, and thank God for that side of truth which is for ever fixed and settled and abiding. Let us thank Him, too, for that which is left open and unrevealed, that we may float our spirits in that sea which is shoreless and eternal. Let us unite the dogmatism of the positive creed with the aspiration of the heart, after that which is and must be for ever mysterious.

Thus, remembering that the secret things belong unto the Lord our God, may we learn that greatest lesson of all true philosophy, that it is always the highest reason to know the limits of reason.

VIII.

MEASURING LINES.

THERE have been distinctly prominent in the history of the Church and in the progress of Christian doctrine two opposite tendencies, represented by the Latin and the Teutonic types of mind : the one plants itself on the institutionalism of the Christian faith, and revolves about that which is fixed and sacramentally deposited ; the other, hailing the discoveries of every new age, climbs aloft over every new unfolding of truth, and, busy with its speculations and its adaptations, lives chiefly in the inspiration of the future.

The former class emphasize the fact of a past revelation and legateeship of power ; the latter exalt the fact that God reveals himself anew in humanity, and that while the old essence of truth can never be lost, the Church, like the householder of our Lord's parable, must bring forth out of its treasury things new and old, for the necessities and liabilities of the hour. But whether our look is backward over the wake of history to the remote beginnings of our faith, or forward over the unploughed wave of the future, the Church of Jesus Christ is a power in the world to-day, both because of its past supernatural origin, and

because of its present and abiding hold upon the hand of the ever-living God.

The world has shown us epochs when men have said, Surely this must be the end of all things! there can be no readjustment of truth after its present entanglement with error! But Christianity has always righted itself. It has lived to see Rome, in its imperial, oligarchic, and ecclesiastical government, built and rebuilt like a child's house of blocks. It has seen empires and governments wiped out from the face of Europe, as the restless schoolboy's pictures are drawn and sponged away, and drawn again, upon his black and busy slate. It has witnessed the conflict of old ideas in the New World, with fresh and unprecedented surroundings. It has seen errors, strong in themselves, spring up all the ranker and the stronger for the lavishness and richness of the new soil in which they have been planted.

Error has reproduced itself all through the ages; but there never was a great error in the world without its balancing truth. Only, men who have seen the error have failed to see the out-look of the truth. Job said to his worrying friends, when they wanted to dig his moral grave for him and place the epitaph upon his tomb, "Here lies one who thought he held the truth," — "No doubt but ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you." Elijah said in his hour of timidity, when the prophet quailed before a guilty queen, "Lord, take away my life! I am no better than my fathers: I only am left." But truth has always lived down error; the right, though diffused through a minority, has always out-lived the wrong, though that wrong were conspicuous for its numbers and its power.

God has made Christian truth immortal. He has given us a Spirit of Wisdom to abide with his witnessing Church for ever, of whom our Lord declares, "He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you."

It becomes us then, in considering the Christian system, to study out the capabilities it offers us, of measuring truth. Placing Christianity in the world to-day, side by side with Positivism or the scientific Nihilism of the hour, how great and wide and accurate are its soundings for the three ultimate questions of all theology, — God, and the Soul, and the Future! Thus in theology, as in physics and metaphysics, the answer to the truth rests upon that kind of measurement known, in technical terms, as the *lines of co-ordinates*. We come back to the old system of latitude and longitude and altitude, a measurement and determination of our position by a standard which asks these three radical questions: How deep, how wide, how high, are your measurements? Answer these, and you will find out just where you stand, — just how large your Jerusalem will be. Let us then go, as did the man in the prophet Zechariah's vision, with a measuring line in our hands, and let us find out the length and the breadth of Jerusalem; not as it once was in the past, not as it may become in the future, but just as it is to-day.

When we come to ask what is meant by Christian truth, it seems, as has been said, as if we could resolve it all into three great categories, — what we know of the Divine nature; what we know of Human nature; what we know of the Hereafter.

God, and the soul, and the future, — what do we know

about these? All theological thought run through church systems, or philosophical systems, or through speculations which belong to no system at all, is meant to bring us face to face with these three great thoughts, these three sides of our being, which tell us what is the depth and the breadth and the height of our measurements of truth. And each system has its own way of getting at the truth, because all truth must come either by revelation, or by induction, or by analogy. God gives us revelation; science gives us induction, or the method of obtaining laws from facts; and the judging reason gives us the system of generalization by analogy, when we reverse the process of induction, trace up our facts to law, assume our laws as true, and then watch carefully the results which follow.

The man who argues by analogy places his analogies side by side, and then tries to find out which has the most reason in its favor. The fact and the law are both assumed to be true; and the question comes, whether, with such a fact and such a law, such a cause as that which is given can be the true one. So then we know in these ways: God gives us a knowledge of divine truths, and we call it *revelation*; modern science gives us the technical method known as *induction*; and Christian reason gives us that ample field of inference, both from revelation and from science, which we may broadly define as *deduction*. Revelation is an authoritative fact with an authoritative cause; science is a bundle of facts leading up to a set of probable laws; deduction is a bundle of results awaiting some test, stretching out for a cause that can be verified. Thus we can know the height and the breadth and the depth of any Christian

fact by one or by all of these three ways. And thus we can see how it is that with so many different theories of all the world of interest, which lies within the great realm of God, and the soul, and the future, and with such varying conceptions of the nature and scope of revelation, and of scientific induction, and of the lawful deduction from these, so many men in the progress of doctrine and in the evolution of Christian thought, with their differing measuring lines in their hands, have made so many different measurements of the city of the great king, where truth lieth, and where God satisfies. Is it any wonder that the history of the past eighteen Christian centuries has been the history of every shade, and combination of shade, of opinion and of judgment ; of understood and misunderstood truth ? Consider this union of imperishable truth with the shifting surroundings of the ages through which it has slowly but surely forced on its way. Christianity and Roman law give us Latin theology ; Christianity and the schoolmen give us modern metaphysics ; Christianity and the crusades give us the spirit of chivalry ; and Christianity and the illumination of the Renaissance give us the mental search of the Reformation.

Like Mary at the tomb, when she said, amid her tears, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him," the readjusted Church of each new epoch has but to speak the old familiar word in its changed surroundings, and the recognition of the same one Lord and Master comes as by a flash, and the plaint of doubt gives way before the joyful reassurance, — the "Rabboni" of a certified faith.

The development of Christian doctrine thus far has been a long-continued problem of geometrical progression, like the hard puzzle of the school-day arithmetic, about the company arranging themselves in untold combinations by a single change of position. But then the same phases of truth and error have stood opposite to each other after the slow shifting of centuries: there have been innumerable moves and changes, and yet there they are to-day, the same faces moving, planet-like, slowly round the same ellipse of objective truth; its foci still God and man; its diameter still the relationship between them; its circumference still the never-ending character of that relationship.

We lift up our eyes to-day, and, looking back over the past, see a man with a measuring line going to measure Jerusalem, to see what is the breadth thereof, and what is the length thereof.

This is the measurement of the first ten centuries. God, and the soul, and the future are measured by an appeal to the inferences from revelation as then understood, and by the traditionalism of historic precedent. The first great development of Christianity in the world's religious history was the wonderful system of the Latin Church.

The Eastern Church lingered to debate the intricate problems of theology, and in its quiet and repose seemed to enjoy the mooted questions of the hour.

The Western Church, on the other hand, culminating in the genius of Charlemagne and Alcuin, was almost brusk in its military haste to know its official duty, and to do it.

It had that faith in God's power and its own complying obedience as the certified assurance of success, which the Roman centurion had, when he begged our Lord to drive away the sickness from his household, just in the way in which he himself issued his orders, and knew they *must be done*. It was in this spirit that the power of Christianity was evolved out of the necessities of the hour. The true meaning of Christ's name was being written in the Latin rule of power, as before it had been written in the Hebrew and the Greek domination. Modern ecclesiastical law and theology are both based upon the system of the Roman law-court; for St. Augustine, in laying the foundation of the theology of the Latin Church, built it and framed it upon the central structure of the Roman judiciary, and used the terms of the forum and the law-court for the soul's conception of its relationship to God. Thus it happens that these terms have been handed down, inwrought into our Christian theology until the present day. Who can doubt that this solid masonry work of law, and discipline, and system, was needed as the strong abutments upon which the after-arching span of modern truth was to rest?

The Church had received a deposit of truth in the shape of the Scriptures and the early interpretation of the primitive Fathers. This was to be guarded within the citadel of ecclesiasticism, lest it should be lost in the rough contentions and the break-up which came after the fall of Rome. And thus the measurement of ecclesiasticism was a true one, as the man of the hour weighed the great truths of revelation with the local weights of the hour, and unrolled his measuring line around that solid Jeru-

salem that stood like a rock on the headland of civilization, to shatter the dashing waves.

We look again at another figure seen in the distance, coming to measure Jerusalem.

It is not a church system any longer; it is a Christian scheme of philosophy which comes to the front now. The scattered threads of thought, which before were mainly run into questions of church discipline, are now woven out into logical phylacteries and philosophical coverings. Aristotle's logic supports St. Paul's doctrine of Election; Calvin gathers up the lost bits of a system as he finds them strewn along the centuries from the period of Augustine to the Reformation; and his Pelagian and Socinian opponents hunt for their treasures,—and thus the measurement of Jerusalem is made in terms of theological dogmatism.

With these teachers the past was wrong, simply because it was past; and the future would be wrong, too, if it differed much from the fixedness of the present. The epoch covered by the centuries which have passed since the Reformation, while it has covered divergent speculations and opposite systems of Protestant thought, is mainly a compelled outgrowth from an error, — a drift into superstition. It has been a period in which Christian thought, in its protestations against an excess of over-belief, has been walled up in the stronghold of dogmatic truth. Why then, it may be asked, if it has measured the immediate past successfully, will it not answer for the present, and the future that is coming out of the present? The answer is found in the fact that there are unmistakable signs of a

day slowly but surely dawning upon us, in which it seems as if there was to be a new outgrowth from dogmatic Protestantism, even as Protestantism itself came out of the exclusive church-system drift towards the autocratic claims of Rome.

See! yonder goes still another form, veiled and silent, treading with noiseless step round the walls of Jerusalem. He, too, would measure it. He is in the world's eyes the coming man; the world of unaccepted truth lies open to him. He does not believe in any church system; that is too far away in the past for him. He does not believe in the mere dogmatism of a scattered, miscellaneous Orthodoxy. He would adapt Christianity, or a part of it at least, to himself and his own favorite views; but he would have no special creed at all: he wants to have a free, unhampered range of thought, and let his measuring line unwind itself to any length.

Let us look at him. What shall we do with him? What shall we say to him?

That a quiet, stormless change in the history of Christianity is at present in progress, and that a something distinct and clear in the history of Theology is coming out of it all, is plain enough, if only we look carefully into the subject; if only we cast our eyes out of the windows of the old familiar home we live in, and do not try to shut out the view, by gathering the heavy traditional curtains around us, and settling down before the comfortable fire upon the ancient, reminiscent hearth.

But how has it come about? The answer is, it is simply the result of this third attempt of the creedless unknown

figure, outside of the walls, to measure Jerusalem. The logical result of continued protesting has carried its protests further than the reformers ever dreamed of, and has denied every thing but matter. Even self-consciousness, even moral accountability, have been given up by these protestants against all revelation. They have measured God, and he has been in turns every thing and nothing. They have measured man, and he has been in turn a demigod, and only a fusion of chemical elements. They have measured the future, and it has been Pantheistic absorption, or blank emptiness.

They have denied the supernatural, and with it the possibility of revelation ; have deified science, and have drawn, by an easy eclecticism from all sorts of premises, every manner of conclusion.

When you ask the length of Jerusalem, they answer, Any length ; when you ask the depth, the answer is, Any depth ; when you ask the breadth, the cry comes back, Any breadth you please !

This school of thought, with the bright and busy knot of men in England who have formed it, is the school of speculative aeronauts ; it is ballasted with the few hastily-gathered stones of natural religion ; depends upon a something lighter than the atmosphere of earth ; is lifted up by the volatile expansion of the commonest Christain sentiments ; is connected only with any thing it happens to grapple ; throws overboard its playful anchors whenever it cares to ; and goes upwards, and downwards, and sideways, and any ways, provided it keeps moving somewhere in an upper world, where only the professional expert can breathe.

But these men are measuring, in the scientific terms of to-day, that old Jerusalem which they find amid the other facts of the world about them; and thus it looks as if their measurements might prove to be the links in the unseen chain which are to unite the future with the present,—just as barbarism compacted the Church into ecclesiasticism, and the tottering, over-development of the Church idea brought on the Reformation. It is like Leverrier's discovery of the planet Neptune: first came the trembling uncertainties and vibrations; and then, back of these, he beheld the ponderous impelling orb. Thus it always happens in the world of thought: the fluctuating phenomena appear first; and then, behind these, we see the disturbing cause.

And thus tendencies which we deprecate may produce results which are in God's own chosen path,—as Pharaoh's hardness brought on the exodus, and the conquests of Cyrus the release from captivity. And in this way it comes to pass, that the old ecclesiastical Catholic and the old theological Protestant are to-day alike, in their supreme desire to forget the past, save as it is an inspiration to them, and to make the present of Christianity strong and hopeful and positive, in resisting the new and insinuating opposition of the Neo-paganism of to-day,—that revived materialism which trails itself wittingly or unwittingly over the writings of England's latest, freshest minds. And this is only the fulfilment of Lacordaire's prophecy, when, after his visit to England, in 1852, by an intuitive glance into the existing state of affairs, he, a Dominican monk, wrote the following

memorable words: "I do not believe that the order of things established in the Middle Ages, with its methods of coercion, will ever be re-established in the world; but little by little, as all nations enter into more rapid communication with one another, and power no longer lends its support to error, schism, and false religions, two centres of unity will spring up,—the one positive, which will embrace all Christians, and the other negative, which will unite all sceptics; and from the struggle between these two colossal powers will result the combats of the last days. This is the light," he concludes, "in which I regard the future."

Such is this third attempt; such are these three attempts. God, and the Soul, and the Future have been measured by revelation, and by the inductional methods of science, and by Christian and unchristian deduction. First, in the history of the world, there came a massive church system, and it reached its climax in the claims of Rome; then there came a protest and a reformation, and it has rested in the lines of defence thrown up in the hour of need. Now there are tokens of another evolution of thought in the world, and its last resting-place the future alone can reveal. Dr. Lange, in his *Life of Christ*, in one chapter studies to show that the Petrine age of obedience in the Church was to come first; the Pauline period of faith was to come next; and the Johannean epoch of spiritual intuition and love was to come last. And in this light there comes a new meaning to our Lord's answer to Simon Peter, as that Apostle inquired the future destiny of St. John: "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that

to thee?" This is that internal welling up of truth in the soul which comes later on in life, after the obedience of childhood and the mental exercise of manhood; that subjective insight which comes with the serenities of old age, which it was the aged Apostle's delight to image forth as the far-off condition of the Church of the latter days, when he said, "The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you; but, as the same anointing teacheth you all things, and is truth and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him."

It does not become the Christian mind to fear a foreign enemy. The foes of Christianity are ever those of its own household. To-day, we can cast the fullest measurement of hopefulness about the walls of Jerusalem, and emphasize the power there is in it, when once we realize the breadth thereof and the depth thereof. Thus far in the world's history, Christianity has appeared in many forms, but chiefly it has assumed the form of an *organized system*, and of a *theological scheme*, and of an *intuitional sentiment*. There are certain minds which see the fullest meaning of the Christian religion in its institutionalism; there are others who see its truest power in its logical exactness; and there are still others who find their best inspiration in its underlying fitness for man's needs and longings after the divine and the eternal.

The truth then forced home upon us, as we have seen the past history of the Church and its present needs and its future outlook, is simply this: The genius of Christianity, by its historic precedents and its composite struct-

ure, implies comprehension rather than uniformity as its true ideal of power. Not that we should strive to be different the one from the other, or should ride the bony hobby of obstinate individualism ; but that we should be on the lookout for great Christian results in the best way that we can secure them, rather than live and move and have our being in the boasted methods of any one man, or any set of men. It does not become us to-day to be forever singing the Lord's song in the provincial dialect of our own school or party. That is to-day the truest form of Christianity which, within the lawful lines of revealed religion, gives God the greatest glory, and brings the largest and most healthful influence to bear upon the will, and leads men away from themselves most completely to the obedience of Jesus Christ.

IX.

THE PRESENT-DAY ELEMENTS IN CHRISTIANITY.

THE systematic study of Church history enables us to be familiar with the past forces of Christianity ; and we know the Church heroes of by-gone days, as they are scattered through the ages, better, perhaps, than we can know the influence of men and the tendency of movements to-day. It is a hard thing to get a bird's-eye view of the days we live in, or to see the whence and the whither of streams of thought, whose land-locked current is before us. The development of Christian thought to-day is like the map of Europe: the natural features of the continent remain the same, but the political outline is continually changing ; empires grow out of kingdoms, and kingdoms grow out of duchies ; weaker nationalities are divided between stronger ones, and the grim law of the survival of the fittest is everywhere supreme.

The common outlines of Christianity remain to-day unchanged among much that is changing, like the mountains and plains which man cannot modify ; but the methods of expression and the forms of thought shift themselves to suit the prevailing temper of the times. Creeds grow out of whims, compulsions, drifts, and different phases of bias ; old systems of thought are absorbed in newer and more

vigorous ones ; obstinate dogmas and confessions suffer a fate similar to that of Poland and Hungary in the history of Europe, and are absorbed in the strife of greater powers, — while germs of thought, quietly let alone, appear in the day of battle as full-grown forces, which have their place in keeping the balance of power, and must needs be consulted in the crisis-moment of action.

This power of development, this flux and change in the history of Christianity, is found in the radical fact that it is planted, after all, in human lives, and not alone in a written parchment or a man-managed system. The prophets of the old Jewish Church are mere lay-figures, and their prophecies are dead-letter writings, until we get at the living conception of revelation as God in history, speaking to men and calling them to do His work. And from that day to the present, the line of Christian advance has been ever away from its remote beginning in the hazy East, towards some unseen climacteric point in the West. The power of its progress consists in this continual insertion of itself in the core of human-nature's experiences, and then throwing out these internal experiences to the world in the shape of objective truths. Through the lives and experiences of unnumbered men the old truth, like the sun in the heavens, ascends higher and higher ; and though forms and systems rise and fall, the hitherto un-called world is being called, as the light creeps over the disc of shadow. Like the flight of the eagle, Christian truth moves round and round the pivotal foundations of all things ; but it moves in a spiral, not in a circle ; and

“ Though a wide compass round be fetched,”

still it narrows in and in, while at the same time it sweeps round the broadest. It has been the inward experience of the individual which has helped to form the outward dogmas; it is the growth of the inward sense of God's presence in the individual life, which has fashioned the true outer bulk of formal doctrine.

Athanasius, brow-beaten and perplexed by all sorts of Arian arguments, still clung to his statement of the oneness of Christ with the Father, as the root and origin of any profound doctrine of the Incarnation. His life was nothing to him apart from this conviction within him; and we forget Athanasius the builder, while we hurry over the planks of his conviction in the bridge-like creed.

Augustine felt the burden of his sins in a way which none of his easy-going Pelagian friends could understand. They would have a freer statement of the doctrine of human guilt,—one that would not make them feel badly in the midst of their plans for this life. But the man whom God had called,—knowing what sin was, and what the saving grace of God was,—wrote himself, as with great drops of blood, deep into the theology of his age; and the emphasis which he gave to the doctrine of sin is felt and heard to-day.

And, in the same way, Savonarola in Florence drew the dividing line between Pagan art and Christian truth; and Luther and Wesley, and Maurice and Kingsley have each in their day struggled with the evils of their hour, and have been openly crowned, along with all those

“Dead but sceptred sovereigns of the past,
Whose spirits rule us from their urns.”

By the Church of Christ, we mean God's call to men. From the far-off plains of Chaldea, God called Abraham from the midst of Paganism, and made him the head of that long line of faithful ones who "*believed God.*" From Abraham came the Jewish Church, wonderful in its history, and yet only a provisional institution, — a dyke in the desert, to wall off the overflowing flood of polytheism from wiping out utterly the revelation of monotheism. And then came the last epoch. "Your Father Abraham," said our Lord, "rejoiced to see my day ; and he saw it and was glad." From provincial Paganism to rational Judaism ; from restricted Judaism to Catholic Christianity, — this has been the march of truth, from the far-off Ur of the Chaldees to the Pacific slope of the New World ! And this path of Christian progress has not been made by obstinate and vehement denials of old errors or present-day prejudices ; it has been by a larger, fuller comprehension of dogmatic truth and the inner principles of Christian revelation. The Church of God can alone grow truly, not by protesting here and denying there, but by sweeping over all man-made limits with a wave of positive assertion, whose impulse has come from an unfathomable ocean, where the deep of God ever calleth unto a corresponding deep in the soul of man.

There have been thus far, in the progress of theistic thought, four general conceptions of that institution known as the Church. First of all is the Pagan conception. According to this, man is a being surrounded by supernatural and mysterious forces. He has certain dim intuitions, which correspond to these outward, unknown and unknow-

able forces. Therefore, he must appease these external powers, and in some way satisfy his religious instincts. This is unmixed Paganism ; the worship of the supernatural, and the paying of the conventional religious toll, according to the tariff-rates of human-nature's Zollverein. The driving impulse of this system is seen in Cain's offering of the fruits of the ground, in Jephtha's vow, in Agamemnon's sacrifice of Clytemnestra before the Grecian fleet sailed for Troy, in the altar to the unknown Term called God, which St. Paul found at Athens, and plainly and unmistakably in the latest religion of to-day, — the religion of humanity, founded by Comte. Whatever makes the invisible world indefinite, and the definite needs of the soul only a blind, mysterious guess, is Paganism, — whether it be found at the Acropolis of Athens, or in Biological clubs in London, or in Brook-farm retreats in New England. Fascinating, attractive, winning it may be ; but, considered as a Church, a calling out, an election of any souls to any higher definite hope, — its outer rim is as wide and yet as narrow as any thing merely natural and creaturely can be.

Then comes the Jewish conception of a Church. This is pre-eminently the sect idea. Given two or three narrow points, around which mechanical men and party leaders can shout their shibboleth and war-cries, and you have the Jewish Church as our Lord found it, — filled with complacent Pharisees and obstructive Sadducees, raging over the dead and literal letter of the traditional Church, from which the spirit had long ago departed. Not that this was all Judaism could be. Once it was great, when great men

lived up to its spirit ; when Abraham and Moses, and Elijah and Jeremiah were its representatives. Once it was great, when it came out of the hands of the living God, and was given as a sacred monopoly of truth to a chosen people. But that one salient idea of the Jewish Church — *the divine monopoly of truth* — degenerated in time ; so that Judaism, like some old baronial castle on the Rhine, while it kept its inmates safely guarded from without, shut out the entire outside world from the share of that which was within. No doubt, God's design of exclusion was a Providential one ; no doubt He meant that certain revealed truths should be stamped in upon the religious consciousness of the Jewish nation ; that to Israel was to be given the monopoly of revealed truth, the oracles of God, — but the further fact that the structural Jewish Church emerged into the Christian Church, shows us that the Church catholic, not the Church sectarian, is the higher, grander, fuller type of Church.

The Christian conception of the Church, of course, is one with which we are all familiar. Plainly stated, I suppose we may say that it is the exercise of revealed Christian virtues within a sphere where knowledge is given by revelation, and practical duties are the necessary results of this knowledge ; where faith in a person becomes translated into devotion to a cause. Christianity is continually receiving new definitions. Every new movement within it, every fresh departure from the rigidity of any state of traditional fixedness, — a condition which is too often taken for Christianity itself, — brings to light new statements and shades of meaning as to the exact nature of the creed of

Christendom. It is enough for us then, I think, to seize upon the one distinguishing feature of it, and to declare it to be the revelation of the Son of God from heaven, — the highest revelation possible to man, demanding, on our part, faith in Him, and obedience to His plainly-published will.

There is one other conception of a Church. It is the outgrowth of Christianity, just as Christianity is the outgrowth of Judaism, and Judaism is the election from Paganism. It is a system that is strong and human in this: that, while it rests upon a Christian basis, it appeals unmistakably to Pagan instincts. I refer to that marvel of ecclesiasticism, — the power of the Church of Rome. The essential strength of this system is found in the fact that the most devout Christian hearts and the most ambitious worldlings, the careless, unthinking masses who are glad to have their thinking done for them, and those burdened doubters who give up at last the perplexing privilege of private judgment for the satisfying authority of the Church's standards, — alike find in its curious admixture the heterogeneous elements which they severally desire. All are at home within its pale. Thus a Thomas Aquinas and a St. Francis, together with a Leo X. and a Lorenzo de Medici; Mazzini the statesman, Fénelon the mystic, Lacordaire the preacher, Newman the doubter, Manning the manager, — are found in it; together with the Irish emigrant and South American filibuster. In other words, the Christian basis of the creed for the saint; the traditional authority of the Church for the doubter; the satisfying of ambition for the worldling; and the gratification of our

common religious instincts for the average superstitious peasant, — combine to give this system of Rome its far-reaching power and influence.

We find, then, to-day, in Christianity these four conceptions of truth, — the Pagan ; the Jewish ; the simple Christian ; and the mixed Roman. These elements scatter and combine, like the consolidating crystals of a kaleidoscope. But we find in every phase of Christian thought and life the five following elements common to them all :—

1. The intuitions of the heart, and our common religious instincts.

2. A body of doctrine, shaping itself into some written creed.

3. A living person, Christ, and a future state, immortality, as factors for the soul's further development.

4. A philosophy for the human mind, which is the necessary outcome of the fundamental propositions upon which Christianity is based.

5. Internal principles of development in Christianity, rather than uniformity of interpretation. These make it adaptable to our human conditions, — such as climate, race, age, and surroundings, — in a way which parchment religions like Islamism, Confucianism, and Brahminism are powerless to do.

What, then, do we find, as the result of these working-forces in Christianity? It was this question which caused Jonathan Swift, in his day, to write his answer, "The Tale of a Tub," — wherein Peter, Martin, and Jack debate about the needed additions to the inherited traditional coat. But every age must ask its own questions, and must accept

the answer when it appears. Sometimes the answer comes slowly. Sometimes there is a long-impending delay, —like the crisis of the French Revolution, or the settlement of the Eastern Question ; and, having asked the question, “What of the night?” it may be given to our children, and not to us, to see the light of the morning.

The present-day elements in Christianity may be resolved, with an almost mathematical exactness, into the following categories :—

1. *The Ecclesiastical Antiquarians*, — those whose faces are set towards the beauties of by-gone phases of power.

2. *The Reactionists*, — those who protest against things as they are, and yet are powerless to provide a new departure.

3. *The Pragmatical*, — those who find a straight line invariably the shortest distance between any two given points in religion, and are intolerant of all others who cannot chalk this same straight line.

4. *The Inchoates*, — those who begin to raise a great reform, and who then, like the men at the tower of Babel, leave off to build a city.

5. *The Empirics*, — those who believe only within the range of their own experience ; and who, in testing all phases of truth by their experimental share in it, leave the vast side of the *non-ego* unaccounted for, and are therefore compelled to repeat their experiments.

6. *The Accidentals*, — those who build the structure of their creed or their church-system upon some local or unimportant precedent in early Christianity. The Baptist body to-day builds its ecclesiastical system upon the

method of administering a sacrament eighteen hundred years ago, in an Eastern, semi-tropical climate. A clinical-eucharistic church might, with a corresponding fitness, be formed, based upon the accidental method of receiving the Passover-meal, or Lord's Supper, while reclining upon couches, according to the Eastern method of reclining at meals.

7. *The Enthusiasts*,—those who range all the way from an active zeal to an untempered fanaticism, and who habitually leap before they look.

8. *The Iron-bound*,—those whose hatches are closed down for the remainder of the voyage ; who have received a cargo, which is not to be touched till the port is gained. Richard Holt Hutton calls this metaphysical registry of the Church's tonnage the *Hard-church* idea.

9. *The Liberal*,—those who reverse the methods of the iron-bound, and are ready to make fast friends with every new turn of thought.

10. *The Traditional*,—those who are in other matters free enough, but who, in their religious affairs, never go outside of party ruts and party enthusiasm.

11. *The Political*,—those who, on the battle-of-the-Boyne principle, keep up two centuries of Orangeism, for the sake of a past political issue.

12. *The Historical*,—those who would reproduce, for new times, modes of thought and methods of administration which once crystallized around historical events, such as the Synod of Dort. A *Dutch* Reformed Church in a new country, or in missionary lands, carries with it the impeding, congealed lump of history from which it sprang.

13. *The Moods.* Nature has its moods; man has his moods, — and the Church has its moods also. See, as illustrations, the Filioque controversy, the case of the Non-jurors in England, Irvingism, Swedenborgianism, Faith-cures, and French miracle-grottos.

14. *The Passions.* The Church has its strifes and storms quite as truly as it has its moods. In Scotland, it showed itself in the violent disruption of 1843. In France, we see it in the strifes of the Gallican party, and in the persecutions of the Jansenists; and, in our own land, in the religious bodies divided by the unecclesiastical wedge of Mason and Dixon's line, — such as the Presbyterian Church North and the same Church South.

15. *The Paganized Christians,* — those who, in the Church of Rome, worship according to the natural dictates of the heart, but who substitute the Christian Trinity, the Virgin and the Saints, for the Pagan basis of polytheism.

16. *The Christianized Pagans,* — those who reverse this order, and who, in taking the revealed facts of Christianity with extreme difficulty, flood their Paganized methods of thought with Christian impulses. The lives of certain so-called radicals, in the Unitarian ranks, are illustrations of this class.

17. *The born Rationalists,* — the St. Thomas type of mind, — who find it hard to believe without the help of the senses.

18. *The born Mystics,* — the St. John type, — who need not that any man should teach them; the transcendental and the pantheistic representatives in philosophical Christianity; the higher-life representatives in daily life.

19. *The Ethical*,—the St. James type,—who find it a very easy matter to give a practical definition of true religion and that wherein it consists.

20. *The Doctrinal*,—the St. Paul type of Christian intellection,—built upon the logical foundation-stones of the syllogism.

21. *The Corporationists*,—those who delight in the working principles of institutionalism ; the mechanics of religion, who take delight in the amount of brick and mortar required to build the house.

22. *The Neo-Platonists*,—those who repeat the experiments of Ammonius Saccas and Iamblichus to-day, and adapt Christianity to their philosophical interpretation of what it ought to be: instanced in the speculations of such writers as Matthew Arnold.

23. *The Neo-Aristotelians*,—those who reduce the defence of Christianity to the by-gone *a priori* methods of the schoolmen, making the whole matter hang upon certain premises, which to them may seem real, but are to others hypothetical, and beyond the reach of demonstration. It is an open question whether it was ever intended that Christianity should be carried over the abyss of nothingness on a single plank, however ingeniously it may have been constructed. “Save me from my friends,” is a motto for the Church, at times, as well as for society.

24. *The Deus-ex-Machina* conception. This is Paley’s idea, reduced to the popular conception of religion. The power of God is limited by the field he works in, and no new revelation can be made until the special dispensation is past.

25. *The Deposit-of-faith* idea. Men who cannot make out the questions of theology, deposit their faith in the religious consciousness of the Church, as expressed by the Christian consensus of past ages ; or, to vary the illustration, the *scaffold must be assumed*, while the work of building any thing at all goes on.¹

Perhaps there are other elements, which the skilled dialectician might elaborate from the common mass of the received and so-called Christianity. Certain of these elements, cognate to human nature's peculiarities, will in all probability remain so long as the Church exists. Some of them will, in time, cancel each other, and thus will drop out of the list. As for the rest, the Church will outgrow them, — just as we learn, each one for himself, our moods and whims and methods of living and habits of thinking, and know, after a while, in the discipline of a true self-consciousness, which are real substances in life and which are only shadows.

The elements in Christianity, then, to-day, are richer and more numerous than Church history has ever shown us before. The limits of belief are wider ; the dogmatic basis is narrower ; and over the page of religious thought in the present age the heavy shadows of anthropomorphitic theology are disappearing. Men look now at great results, rather than at theological puzzles and so-called clear views. Religion is less of a mirror, where man has for ages seen his God in the distorted image of his own face ; and, while the religious instincts are as strong as ever before, the scientific law of the survival of the fittest thought pre-

¹ See, as an example of this, Newman's Grammar of Assent.

vails. The necessary elements, the typical human traits, will remain ; the accidental elements will disappear in the new unfoldings of Christian thought, and in the presence of new experiences. In other words, theology must become inductional in its methods, as well as deductive in its conclusions. Butler's "Analogy," as the strongest argument for Christianity, has proved this. And, with this recognized change of base, new and unforeseen results, in the history of Christian thought, will inevitably follow.

X.

CAUSES OF HERESY.

WE call our world the *planet* Earth. That is, it is a *wanderer*. But it is a very orthodox wanderer ; for it keeps close to its creed of two opposite laws, which enable it to whirl along upon the race-course of its orbit. Our friend, the Comet, is rather the greater wanderer of the two, and he is more properly the normal type of the heretic : only the initiated know when and where to expect him. His creed is the most radical of all free religions. He moves up and down through space, crossing planets, stars, and constellations which have been fixed from all eternity. The Comet is always interesting ; he has looked upon all sorts of worlds we have never dreamed of, and all sorts of worlds have looked upon him ; he has shined upon others, and others have given him back their shining in return ; he has cut his way through all varieties of constellations and all combinations of laws, free and independent as the north wind, but yet weaving his orbit as the spider spins her thread, and reappearing on his line again, after the flight of centuries.

And so, too, the great world of mental and moral thought is a planetary body, — a wandering world. It has its laws and its orbit ; and philosophers, like Buckle, take the tele-

scopic glass of prophecy and tell just when and where certain views will reappear and cross the line of other views. There is a world of thought which is fixed and settled ; there is a world of thought which, in character, is wandering and irregular. If, then, we lift this subject into the sphere of religious thought, we shall have, as the two opposite categories, the creed of the planet and the creed of the comet. Leaving out of our investigations the world of Orthodoxy, — for every man who truly believes is orthodox in his own eyes, — I come to the subject of the present paper, “Causes of Heresy.”

Truly has Tertullian said, “The first thing which it is necessary for us to believe, is that we believe nothing lightly.” The gay, flippant heretic, who skims over great truths and depths of thought — a mere connoisseur, who, in the easy elegance of his amateur habits of thought, finds a little good and a little bad in every form of faith, and stands in his intellectual indifference above them all — has no place in this paper. Nor can I include within the range of heretics, who charm us with the sincerity and outlawry of their faith, men who have no faith, and must have every thing embraced within the all-concluding grasp of their scientific classifications. The man whose brain is one vast collection of pigeon-holes, where every fact has its receptacle, and where that which cannot be accounted for and understood has no place, is no heretic, no wanderer ; he has nothing to wander from. There is no borderland, no twilight hours of mixed fact and faith with him. He lives always on the stroke of twelve, in the full-orbed face of time, until the striking and the run-

ning weight are stopped by an unseen hand he has never been able to classify or explain. It is of such as these that the poet Wordsworth has written, —

“I'd rather be
A Pagan suckled in a creed outworn,
So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn,
Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea,
Or hear old Triton blow his wreathèd horn.”

Doubt is twofold in character. It is the Janus doorway of knowledge, and looks backward to despair and forward to hope and further knowledge. Peter doubted, and yet became the rock of the early church; Judas doubted, and his doubts wove that cord by which he went in his despair and hanged himself. St. Paul hints, in one place, of the possibility of such a thing as an “evil *heart* of unbelief;” that is, of the crossing of the moral and the mental planes at such an angle, that we may believe a thing or disbelieve, simply because we *wish* to do so. Here the condition of the moral will inevitably tinge the mental state. Thus a belief or an unbelief may rest, after all, upon the condition of the will.

Leaving, then, this phase of our subject, upon this its metaphysical side, let us throw overboard from the interesting class of heretics those whose heresies spring from their moral state, and are the result of certain conditions of the will. Thus our Gideon's band of doubters becomes purged of all who are insincere and lukewarm. We have cast out, into the rough outside sea of general badness, the amateur heretic, the man who has no faith or creed at all, and the man who believes in error because he wants to believe in it.

Let us trust that our cargo of thought will be lightened by their riddance, and that we shall sail on smoothly together, now that these disturbing Jonahs are safely deposited in the belly of that avenging whale which always follows in the wake of the world's wanderers, who, knowing they ought to sail eastward to Nineveh, yet deliberately sail westward to Tarshish. Lord Byron speaks in one place of the delight with which, in the crowded art galleries of Italy, he turned

“ . . . from grizzly monks and martyrs hairy
To the calm pictures of the Virgin Mary.”

Perhaps we may experience a somewhat similar relief, if we, too, turn from the grizzly annals and wearying statistics of this vast subject to the sweeter pictures of individual character. Remembering that we have omitted from our catalogue of heretics all the unworthy and insincere, those who can be classed with the flippant and the unbelieving and the evil hearted, let us look —

1. *At the heresy of temperament*, — or what we may be naturally.

2. *At the heresy of our surroundings*, — or what others may have made us ; and

3. *At the heresy of experience*, — or what we may have finally made ourselves.

These categories may possibly overlap each other, and in some cases meet in almost equal proportions ; but still they are sufficiently separate and distinct to serve for our present purpose. When we come to give a definition of heresy and the heretic, we will find it a more difficult thing in these days of critical free thought and untrammelled

right of private judgment than it was a century ago. A writer of to-day complains that the old definition of God has gone, and no new one has taken its place. Perhaps this is true of the heresy-idea. Schism, excommunication, the uncovenanted mercies, — these are to many minds only the garments of the past, interesting relics of religion. They stand like heraldic armor and cross-bow and helmet, belonging to an age of chivalry which, while interesting and curious, is now effete. And yet every man draws the line somewhere, between that which he considers truth and that which he calls superstition and error. As Carlyle has written : —

“ It is well said, in every sense, that a man’s religion is the chief fact with regard to him. By religion, I do not mean here the church-creed which he professes, the articles of faith which he will sign, and in words or otherwise assert : not this wholly, in many cases not this at all. We see men of all kinds of professed creeds attain to almost all degrees of worth and worthlessness, under each or any of them. This is not what I call religion, — this profession and assertion which is often only a profession and assertion from the out-works of the man, from the mere argumentative region of him. But the thing a man does practically believe (and this is often enough without asserting it even to himself, much less to others) ; the thing a man does practically lay to heart, and know for certain concerning his vital relations to this mysterious universe, and his duty and destiny here, — that is, in all cases, the primary thing for him, and creatively determines all the rest. That is his religion, — or it may be his mere scepticism and no religion ; the manner, it is, in which he feels himself to be spiritually related to the unseen world, or no world. Of a man or of a nation we inquire, therefore, first of all, what religion they had. Was it creationism, — plurality of gods and physical force ? Was it Christian-

ism, — faith in an Invisible, not as real only, but as the only reality ; time, through every meanest moment of it, resting upon eternity ; Pagan empire of force displaced by a nobler supremacy, that of holiness? Was it scepticism, uncertainty, and inquiry whether there was an unseen world, any mystery of life except a mad one, — doubt as to all this, or, perhaps, unbelief and flat denial? *Answering of this question is giving us the soul of the history of the man and of the nation.* The thoughts they had were the parents of the actions they did ; their feelings were parents of their thoughts. It was the unseen and spiritual in them that determined the outward and actual : their religion, as I say, was the great fact about them.”¹

I. Let us define heresy, for the purposes of this paper, as the protest of the minority against the creed of the majority ; and the heretics by temperament, by surroundings, and by experience, will be those men who have reacted from the ecclesiastical standard of the hour, and who, in drawing the lines differently, have formed a new standard of their own. I have said, first, there are those heretics who may be embraced in the great category of temperament. We are all familiar with those traits and characteristics which are the entail of Nature ; those which we have derived by birth, as well as that which we have made ourselves by our own self-determining wills. St. Paul perceived in his own character two wills, two selves, struggling together through his entire life. Many a thinker, many a worker, has felt this sluggish personality of inheritance, and that other personality of conscious will-power. Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, longed as much as any one for definite ultimate truth ; yet he once said to a friend that, settle matters as he would

¹ Carlyle's "Hero Worship," — The Hero as Divinity.

at night, there were times when, with the dawning light of the morrow, every thing seemed to be an open question again. Such men's doubtings have a great fascination for us. In fact, the careful student of ecclesiastical history unconsciously finds himself interested in the side of the heretic, because of the charm of the life or the thought. The Apostle, in his epistle to the church of Galatia, has his finger upon this same fascinating tendency, when he exclaims: "O foolish Galatians! who hath bewitched you?" That is, there was a dazzling spiriting away of the calmer judgment upon the creed, by the shining of some attractive life on the opposite side. Men resting behind the bulwarks of the creed forget the power of the life; the doubter, on the other hand, denying the creed, speaks only by the charm of his own individuality. Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople in the year 428, has given his name to the heresy known in history as Nestorianism, which serves as an instance of this heresy of temperament. He declared that it was wrong to call the Virgin Mary the Mother of God: she was only the Mother of Christ, or of man. He was summoned before a council at Ephesus, by the Emperor Theodosius, and was accused by his bitter adversary, Cyril of Alexandria, of greatly dishonoring Christ. Cyril brought with him a wild, surging escort of fanatical monks, — very much in the way that unprincipled political leaders in our own time bring repeaters to colonize a certain ward or county, — and judgment was passed against Nestorius. The rough temperament of Cyril was disturbed at nothing; the delicate Nestorius, troubled at the unthinking exclamations of the masses, wanted at heart, after all, to give

Christ a greater honor than that he should be born, a divinity, by a human woman ; yet he has been handed down to posterity as a heretic. By temperament he reacted from the unthinking masses about him. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, the purest of the English Deists of the eighteenth century, stands as another temperamental reactionist. Shocked at a church submerged with state patronage, the truculent lackey to the crown, he flew to Deism ; yet, believing in miracles, asked for a sign from heaven. This he says was granted him in the form of a miraculous flashing of fire, before he published his book, "Concerning Truth." His own description of this is as follows :—

"Hesitating whether to publish the work or not, being in my chamber one fair day in the summer, — my casement being open toward the South, the sun shining clear and no wind stirring, — I took my book, 'De Veritate,' in my hands, and, kneeling on my knees, devoutly said these words : 'O Thou Eternal God, author of this light which now shines on me, and giver of all inward illuminations, I do beseech Thee, of Thine Infinite goodness, to pardon a greater request than a sinner ought to make ! I am not satisfied enough whether I shall publish this book : if it be for Thy glory, I beseech Thee give some sign from heaven : if not, I shall suppress it.' I had no sooner spoken these words, but a loud though gentle noise came forth from the heavens (for it was like nothing upon earth), which did so cheer and comfort me that I took my petition as granted, and that I had the sign demanded : whereupon, also, I resolved to print my book. This, how strange soever it may seem, I do protest before the Eternal God is true ; neither am I any way superstitiously deceived therein, since I did not only clearly hear the noise, but, in the serenest sky that ever I saw, being without all cloud, did to my thinking see the place whence it came."

These are specimen cases of temperamental reaction. The faculty of spiritual apprehension, changing and becoming tinged with some new experience, changes and colors the mind, and the judgment, and the structure of the creed. Thus the bias or coloring of that which is a temperamental change, works out into the written standard of faith. History is filled with examples of this class of reactionists, who, by temperament going beyond a certain line, are called heretics. Thus the great question, after all, for every would-be theologian is, "Where do I draw my line?"

2. The second category I have called the heresy of our surroundings, or that which others may have made us by their influence. It is said of Cyrus the Great, that he attempted to determine the natural language of man by shutting certain infants away from the sound of the human voice, until, in childhood, they should develop a language of their own. A theological Infant Asylum, composed of a hundred young children,—Jews, Turks, babies from India, China, Africa, England, New England, New Zealand, Russia, Tartary,—all let alone to develop an unbiassed and purely natural theology, would be an equally interesting experiment. Here, at least, there would be no place for the heresy of any one's surroundings. Temperament, and the development of experience, alone would have weight or influence here. It is never fair to judge of any side solely by the defenders of that side; it is not right to decide about a cause only by looking at the surroundings of a cause. Truth and error have many sides. Man is many-sided, and receives truth and error in twisted, complicated

ways. John the Baptist brought all Jerusalem out into the deserts to hear him ; on the day of Pentecost three thousand souls were converted by St. Peter's preaching. Success like this never followed the preaching of Christ ; yet Christianity rests upon Christ as the corner-stone, — not upon John the Baptist ; not upon the Apostle Peter. Whitfield and the Wesleys brought power down from heaven to poor creatures steeped in sin, — men who never dreamed of any divine enthusiasm hidden in their human breasts ; they went like angels of light to thousands sitting in darkness ; they revolutionized the English Church, and gave to practical Christianity a new lease upon time : yet if we ask who at this period fastened Christianity to the rock of philosophic truth ; who nailed it firm and strong among all merely human systems, from Plato down to Hegel, — the answer is, not Whitfield, not the Wesleys, not men of their mould ; but a dull, talking man, who fumbled with his fingers, and mumbled with his words, — Coleridge. So, too, we must judge of Christianity in Germany, not alone from the stand-point of Luther struggling with the Pope, or the later mystics, crying out against the cold sacramentarianism of the Lutheran Church ; but from the outlook of Schleiermacher, who first successfully passed over the bridge from Rationalism to Christianity, — a high and massive arch, which his own genius reared. And this is equally true in looking at infidelity. Tom Paine and Voltaire were infidels. Yet we must not judge of all infidelity by the hangers-on to these men, their abandoned camp-followers. In that political and religious reaction which followed the period of Cromwell, there

appeared in England a school of materialistic and sensual Deism, extending from Hobbes, through Jonathan Swift, Chubb, and Bolingbroke, to the old Greek Pyrrhonism or universal doubt of David Hume. Great was the cry against it; bitter was the controversy.

But there were social and speculative reasons, literary and temperamental and reactionary causes, which induced many men to go over from a dead church, and dull defenders of an old faith, to any side which seemed to have life and energy about it. Thus Shelley and Byron were snatched from a world of faith, and illogically, because the true poet always feeds upon faith, pursued their high calling. They are both types of this second class of heretics, — those who naturally gravitate toward heresy more by their surroundings than by temperament or by condition. These men made a faith for themselves, and crowned it with the old gods of Greece, because such spirits could not feed upon the vapors in the dungeon of a blank despair. Ignorance, pride, and prejudice upon any one side of life are sure to spawn their offspring upon the other. This is why religious wars are the wickedest of all conflicts. The Salem witchcraft and the Spanish inquisition teach us this universal fact. Kingsley, too, in his story of Hypatia, shows us this same truth, when the Monk Philammon was orthodox in the company of his monastery, but fearfully lax when out in the wicked world.

If, then, we all live, influenced by our surroundings more than we know, and, in breathing the mental and moral atmosphere around us, give it back again as unconsciously our own, — has not this heresy of a man's surroundings an

important place in the history and philosophy of heresy? Is it not a category in itself?

3. And then, lastly, there is that *other* class of heretics, — those who have adopted heresy as a matter of conviction, as the result of their experience. We all desire, above every thing else, to arrive at that point where we have some fixed and settled rule of decision. There are two ways of taking hold of a mystery: we leave a matter unsolved, or we give it a wrong solution. I may believe a fact, and yet reject a certain theory of that fact. I may believe in some mountain-like doctrine, and yet may find my way over its summit by some path of my own. It is like ascending the Rigi: I can walk up, or ride up, or be driven up, or steam up. But where there is no choice of ways, or where I think the path unsafe, I must go as the others go, or I must stand off at a distance and merely look at the summit. I believe, because I see it afar off; not because I stand with the mystery under my feet. There are some things we can leave unsettled in matters of faith; there are others which are essential, and must be solved in some way of our own. As I said in opening, the first principle of all earnest belief is, that we believe nothing lightly. Thus we may leave a doctrine unsolved; we may reject a doctrine because we deny a theory, or we may believe a doctrine, and yet reject a certain theory of it. By the heretics of experience, then, I refer to those who have fallen into the habit of rejecting the *doctrine* because they deny the *theory*. They do not believe in the *mountain*, because they cannot stand upon the *top* of the mountain.

Thus formulated, heresy, settled and defined, becomes its own standard of Orthodoxy; and men who make the broadest generalization from their position, where a bird's-eye view of humanity can be obtained, grow angry and impatient, because all others are not as broad as they themselves. Thus it is, that established heresy becomes dogmatic. It is the Episcopacy of Charles going down before the Independency of Cromwell. The orthodox becomes the outlaw, and the former heretics seize the reins of power. Did the limits of this paper allow, I should like to show more at length the exact position of this school of heresy. In Stanley's "History of the Eastern Church," we find an illustration of this thought, in the description of Athanasius and Arius, as they faced each other at the Council of Nice, upon the abstract subject of the Trinity,—the one representing the best type of generous yet dogmatic orthodoxy; the other representing the best type of manly and dogmatic heterodoxy.

They stood at the council, foemen worthy of each other's dialectic skill, in a controversy and in an age when earth and sea and sky were ransacked for illustrations, which, for definiteness, were to be clearer than the very terms to be defined. By heresy, then, I have referred to the reaction of the minority against the creed of the majority, the denial of that creed, and the substitution of a new one. It is, in short, a theological nebular hypothesis; the old creed, whirling on its logical axis, throws off incandescent worlds of thought, which finally, it may be, become fixed. Unless the heretic becomes fixed in his faith, as I said before, he is a comet rather than a planet. I have been

speaking only of honest heretics : these we respect ; others only cumber the ground of thought.

After all our moralizing, we can only conclude with Robert Browning, as he soliloquizes over the dead body in the *Morgue* at Paris, that picture of life's apparent failure : —

“ It 's wiser being good than bad ;
It 's safer being meek than fierce ;
It 's fitter being sane than mad :
My own hope is, a sun will pierce
The thickest cloud earth ever stretched ;
That after last returns the first,
Though a wide compass round be fetch'd ;
That what begins best can't end worst,
Nor what God blessed once — prove accurs'd.”

XI.

THE NARROWNESS OF BREADTH.

“**G**OD giveth it a body as it hath pleased him,” said the Apostle Paul to the Corinthians, “and to every seed its own body.” Here is a rational principle ; and the manifested result we see working around us, in the social, political, and religious forces of to-day. Around every growing and expanding seed, we behold the resultant body ; from every growing and therefore necessarily dying body, we behold the germ of a higher state, developed through decay and death. And yet the body in some way pleases Him who made it ; for to each prolific and evolving seed there comes a new phenomenal development ; to every seed its own body,—deaths and resurrections tumbling over each other, in this endless wheel of Nature.

“See dying vegetables life sustain,
See life dissolving vegetate again :
All forms that perish, other forms supply.”

Thus Pope rhymes it ; and while philosophers, both staid and transcendental, finger the harp-strings of its meaning,—running to the high tones of optimism, or the lowest ones of despair,—the principle is no less true for this variedness of interpretation, even if the truth does become at times a platitude.

Take, however, an illustration from the politico-economical world, before we pass on to the direct subject of our theme.

In the nation, to-day, men are musing in their hearts, whether or no we have reached the highest water-line of national greatness and prosperity. Perhaps not yet has the tide of what is ultimately possible reached the dry sand of the beach, and scored itself there. But as our civilization has been forced on with a hot-house pressure, the seeds of our decay are to be found in that very flowering of civilization which is now our national boast. First comes cold New England's grim welcome to the Puritan colony; then economy and thrift, and a religious life, the expression of this homespun condition of body and mind; then a spiritual oligarchy with its theocratic claims; then a colonial rebellion, followed by a theological one; then breadth and culture; then luxury and lack of conviction; then materialism and Epicureanism; then sensuous conceptions of life; then physical decay, and the decline of the nation's manhood: and, last of all, some new Alaric will be found at the gates, some stronger race of emigrating invaders will appear, — civilization surely giving place to the necessary barbarism, just as the soil is turned over for new deposits of strengthening bone-dust. In short, the ruling principle is, "To every seed its own body."

In his essay upon University Education delivered in Baltimore, at the opening of the Johns Hopkins University, Professor Huxley said, in speaking of the future of America: "You are undertaking the greatest political experiment that has ever been performed by any people

whatever. At your next centenary, rational and probable expectation may look to see you two hundred million people ; and you have before you the problem whether two hundred million of English-speaking, strong-willed people will be able to hold together under the form of republican institutions, and under the real despotism of universal suffrage ; whether State rights will hold their own against the necessary centralization of a great Nation, if it is to act as a whole, or whether centralization will gain the day without breaking down republican institutions. The territory you cover is as large as Europe, as diverse in climate as England and Spain, as France and Russia ; and you have to see, whether with the diversity of interests, mercantile and other, which arise under these circumstances, national ties will be stronger than the tendency to separation. And as you grow, and the pressure of population makes itself manifest, the spectre of pauperism will stalk among you ; and you will be very unlike Europe, if communism and socialism do not claim to be heard. I cannot imagine that any one should envy you this great destiny ; for a great destiny it is, to solve these problems some way or other."

Enough, then, for the nation as our illustration ; now let us come to the Church of to-day for our subject. Present-day Christianity may consist in many things, but for our present purpose it is enough that we recognize the side of material objectivity, whose exponent is the sacraments ; and the side of subjectivity, whose sign is the emotions. The presence of Christ in the Sacrament is the gross extreme of one line ; the presence of the Holy Spirit on

the telegraphic wire of the human feelings is the extreme of the opposite line. There is power in either of these phases of religiousness, when once these differing convictions become powerfully guiding ones. And between these two sides we find the balance to them both, in the corrective principle of breadth.

Here, then, this third power stands, making itself felt somewhere in every Christian communion, recognizing the good in either of these two sides, and rejecting that which is weak; trying to live and work in the open daylight of practical Christianity, as the others live and work, but, unconsciously, a Melchisedec, priest, and king, and arbiter, wittingly or unwittingly appealed to, and sorely tempted to do every thing carefully as to the critical faculty, rather than heartily as unto the Lord. Indeed, this constant strain to preserve the balance, this stretched-out effort to be always cultured in every thing, makes it at times a relief to hear a man like Moody in religion, or a Tammany Hall chieftain in politics,—men who are not cumbered with much philosophical serving, but who have their half-dozen strong convictions; who do not bother themselves about the rear baggage of results, and have not a particle of fear about the consequences, either real or imaginary. To be very strong and forth-putting, to be resolute and aggressive, no set or school of men can afford to live always in the sign of the Libra.

There is such a thing as too much of the tradesman's balancing of opposite tendencies in the Christian Church. There is such a feeble thing as the narrowness of breadth abroad in the Church to-day; and it is concerning this

party tendency, that I raise my voice to-day, saying, Cassandra-like to the colossal image of freedom and force brought inside the walls of the Church, amid the shoutings of the rising party to-day, —

“Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes!”

This paper, then, is a *caveat*; it is an unwilling confession made openly, in order that a general absolution may be given, and that a second growth of moral force and purpose may come into some of our actions, that we may be like the men of Issachar who had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do.

Wisdom is, indeed, justified of her children; but if wisdom leaves no offspring, she is scarcely wise,—for without a nurturing and honoring offspring, she can never be cared for or remembered.

The balance of power to-day, then, is with the men of earnest living, positive breadth, who are not afraid of the present, and are looking out with hope for the future. The tendency of all religions is to have their beginnings hidden, to come welling up from unseen springs in the earth, and to have their sources in a Nile-like mystery. Thus the tendency in religion is always to look back over the past; to walk forward, to be sure, but to walk with the face thrown over the shoulder. This comes from religious antiquarianism, and from the necessarily deductive attitude of theology; but in the development of every ethnic religion, and conspicuously in the development of Christianity, the tendency towards the conservation of past forces has prevailed over a willingness to accept new ones. There are

always thinkers enough in the Christian Church, who are content to elaborate, after the Chinese method, endless inferences from a far-off condition of Confucianism. There are always radicals who shoot beyond the mark of the attainable and the reasonable. So that, after all, it rests with the balancing class of those who are at home in the age they live in, to play the part of the wise householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasury things new and old. The past is sure; the present will take care of itself; the future is the field in which the seeds of the present will show themselves.

It is for this surely coming fruit that we are responsible; and a moral necessity is laid upon every Christian teacher and leader of men, to be true to the needs of his generation. Woe is to him, indeed, if he preach not a living gospel, that is a power amid the wants of the present! It is because to-day's evening is the womb of to-morrow's morning; it is because the methods of the past lose their power in handling the questions of the present,—that a moral pressure, a Divine compulsive hand, is laid upon the children of each new generation, to lengthen the cords and tighten the stakes of that everlasting Tabernacle of his presence among men, which God hath pitched, and not man.

Christ taught us that when our children in their hunger ask for bread, we are not to give them the stone that lies nearest to our feet; or when they ask for that form of food which has healthful life in it, we are not to give them the crooked, distorted scorpion, poisoning with its venomous breath, and stinging with its rasping tail.

Gamaliel's principle was, after all, a true and safe one.

If God is with any tendency of the times, who can be against it? If any movement, which seems to have religious life, falls, it will fall inevitably on its weak side, and will be swept away by some moral river Kishon,—that ancient river, that tributary torrent of God's wrath, which always follows the battle-fields of the Church on earth, to wash away all human failures and abuses.

It becomes us then, I think, to pause and survey the ground behind us and before us. Giant Despair used to take his captives out every day for an airing, and show them the bones and skulls of his former guests; then after a daily beating of his two lodgers, he would return them to their cell. The sight of dead men's or dead movement's bones is not a cheerful one, nor do I approve of any systematic well-thought-out plan of cudgelling one another. This hospitality of Doubting Castle is not a cheerful kind. Let us be watchful in this matter. There is a danger in that very breadth which is the glory of this newly rising school. There is a true breadth and a false breadth. There is a powerful phase of it, and there is a weak phase of it; and it is of this weak side, this higher breadth which eventually becomes narrowness, that I am now writing.

But what is this narrowness of breadth? Let us see.

It consists in many things; in many habits of thought, in many tendencies and moods, which belong to certain forms of religious and theological bias, and are quite as marked and peculiar as the bias of class, caste, custom, or profession. In looking at this subject, we must remember that the Christian Church is not a philosopher's club of

the Daniel Deronda pattern, where an inspired but erratic Mordecai feels commissioned to arouse the undeveloped souls of any company made up of men who are well meaning and cultured, but who, after all, belong to the genus of the amateur philosopher.

Remembering that the Christian Church is something wider, and more mixed, than a philosopher's club, we must have an honest, definite purpose to bless and help our fellow men, — not only and always to criticise them; not only and always to throw them in the scale of the avoirdupois weights, and try our hats on them, and measure the circumference and weight of their brains. We must remember that those who live on different mental planes, demand our sympathy and support, if they are earnest and true men, quite as much as if they were all Michaels and Gabriels, God's chosen archangels.

We must not think that the tribe songs of those who differ from us are all cant; we must know that there is a reality under what we often call cant; we must learn to look through much weakness, chaff, and foolishness even, and to recognize substantial results underlying these. We must lead men by our kindly influence: we cannot afford to crowd them, with the compressed air of our critical pressure.

We must recognize the good in every effort, where good is done within the Church's walls, unless we are willing to hand over the banner of leadership to some newer, fresher power; unless we are ready to become a negative, critical sect, croaking back, like a nest of jackdaws, to every sound that passes our elevated stand-point.

I have said that this narrowness of breadth consists in many things,—in habits of thought, and mental tendencies, and moods. We have seen how it may affect us in our dealings with one another, and especially with those who differ from us. Let us now look at it in a wider aspect, and apply this same principle to the theological and ecclesiastical and social world ; or to doctrine, church government, and the mixed border-land of society.

I. First, then, we look at *this subject* with reference to Christian doctrine, or theology. "God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, and to every seed its own body." This is our subject's refrain. Yes, and to every body is given its own seed or germ again. We have had the seed of this movement of breadth. We have at present its corporate manifestation or expression. What shall the seed of the future be? The fruit only will reveal the seed ; autumnal results alone can suffice for spring blossoms.

If any school of Christian thought would hold the field for the future, it must see to it that the coming race of theologians and teachers hold and promulgate that which is definite and dogmatic ; that there shall be a positive forth-putting of suggestive, creative doctrine, a flood-tide of reserve power coming in to meet the questions of the age continually,—not the hot, dead, noonday uninteresting calm, the cumulative gatherings of others, the researches of all sorts and conditions of men, any assorted lot of which we can take, as our fancy pleases us. In a sermon entitled "The Church's Law of Development," delivered before the New York Episcopal Convention of 1872, Rev. Dr. John Cotton Smith speaks, in one

place of the latest school in the Church of England as follows :—

“Among the prominent ideas in the Broad-Church movement is the widening of the catholicity of the Church by reducing its dogmatic basis. The principle upon which it proceeds is, that the fewer and more fundamental the things which the Church requires to be believed, the greater will be the number of those who will adhere to the Church. That this tendency may be and has been carried to such an extent as to threaten the sacrifice of some of the fundamental articles of the faith, must be admitted.

But when we remember how, in modern times, the ancient creeds have been overlaid with cumbrous confessions and elaborate theological systems, and what a fruitful source has thus been opened of controversy and division, this movement must be regarded as having a salutary character, in so far as it is a protest against that traditionalism which constantly adds to the things to be believed, and is also an assertion of the sufficiency of the universal creeds of Christendom.

It is, in this aspect of it, essentially a catholic as opposed to a sectarian school.”

To which we answer, This is true! Reduce your dogmatic basis, but make the essence of your reduction strong. Sift your company at the water-courses of Truth, but be sure and have a Gideon's band with you, though they believe only in a creed of three articles, *God, pitchers, and trumpets!*

The present is not an age for religious whims and theological tricks of the trade. Rhetoric alone will not answer now; pietism will always be essentially a side issue in the unfolding of Christianity. What is wanted at present is clearly-cut thought; the inspiration of a reasonable as well as a religious and holy hope. It will not do to be for

ever saying that our Faith is a great mystery, a piece of supernaturalism, dimly seen and darkly comprehended, whichever way we look at it. The dogmatic basis may well be shortened, but that which is left ought to be clear, positive, succinct, and well thought out. Nothing but this solid kind of work, well done, can command in the present age of specialities the respect and confidence of the thousand critics, who are ever ready to sit in judgment upon a new thought, movement, or tendency within the traditional walls of the accepted Christianity.

I. Take, for instance, the six general departments of systematic Divinity. Theology proper must give us a true rendering of the problem of Personality and the Infinite, as opposed to the brilliant but unphilosophical objections of Matthew Arnold, to a belief in the being of God as one who loves and hates. As Mr. Knight says, in a recent article on this subject, in the "Contemporary Review," "In his [Arnold's] attack on what he terms the 'God of Metaphysics,' in his elaborate critical assault, lacking neither in 'vigor nor in rigor,' on the notion of personality in God, he removes the very basis of theology, and the whole superstructure of science becomes fantastic and unreal. He is sanguine of laying the basis of a 'religion more serious, potent, awe-inspiring, and profound than any which the world has seen ;' but he builds it on the ruins of the theistic philosophies of the past. These, therefore, must in the first instance be levelled with the ground, and the débris removed. We are to find the elements of a religion—new, indeed, but in the highest degree hopeful, solemn, and profound—only when we renounce the delu-

sion that God is a person, regarding it as a fairy tale, as figure, and personification, and of the same scientific value as the personification of the Sun or the Wind."

But leaving Arnold and his defenders, and his reviewers and his opposers, I go back to the metaphysics of Sir William Hamilton; and there I come upon the old statements made in his chapter upon the Philosophy of the Conditioned, which saves our Christian theology, after all, from being the whimsical blue-light or Roman candle of the individual who happens to fire it off, in this or that mental torch-light parade.

"I lay it down as a law," he says, "which, though not generalized by philosophers, can easily be proved to be true by its application to the phenomena, *that all that is conceivable in thought lies between two extremes, which as contradictory of each other cannot both be true, but of which, as mutual contradictories, one must.*"

Then follows the familiar illustration of space: "It is plain that space must either be bounded or not bounded. These are contradictory alternatives; on the principle of contradiction, they cannot both be true; and on the principle of excluded middle, one must be true. This cannot be denied without denying the primary laws of intelligence. *But though space must be admitted to be necessarily either finite or infinite, we are able to conceive the possibility neither of its finitude nor of its infinity.*" And then the argument is carried up by the illustrations of time and thought, through the problem of the mind's limitedness, to the admitted truth that a Deity *understood* would be *no Deity at all*. For to say that the infinite can be thought,

but only inadequately thought, is a contradiction : it is the same as saying that the infinite can be known, but only known as finite.

This broad method of reasoning, such as Matthew Arnold gives us, with all its fascination, is yet charlatanism, looked at with the standards and weights of philosophy. It is Turnerism in painting, Carlyleism in history, Wagnerism in music. It is striking, glaring, bizarre ; but it is not for all men, or for many men.

We need to hear that refrain coming to us with its accompanying melody, which the soloist gives over and over again with such effect, in the music of Handel's Judas Maccabeus, —

“Wise men, flattering, may deceive you
With their vain mysterious art :
Magic charms can ne'er relieve you,
Nor can heal the wounded heart.

But true wisdom can relieve you, —
God-like wisdom from above :
This alone can ne'er deceive you,
This alone all pains remove.”

So then, in this first great department of systematic Divinity, this *fons et origo* of all dogmatic theology, there can be no trifling, no turning away, no philosophical shying off, from the admitted personality of Him who upon Mount Sinai spake these words, and said, “Thou shalt have no other gods before Me!”

2. Then, secondly, follows the world of Christology, — the historical fact of the person of Jesus Christ, and the further catholic fact that He is the Son of God from heaven. In

the midst of perplexity and confusion, in the presence of materialism, in the rush of the torrent of souls day by day into eternity, when we feel like asking, Can immortality, after all, be true? — there stands out that far-off wondrous life, with the words of truth revealed in the Gospel, which come to us with a new meaning, in the presence of the experimental doubts and fears and vicissitudes of life. Here, certainly, finding as we do in Christ both the revealer of the Father in heaven, and the interpreter of the human heart upon earth, is plenty of sea-room for new, fresh currents of positive doctrinal thought.

3. Thirdly, comes the problem of Salvation, — soteriology as the Doctors call it; “the plan of redemption,” as the average Sunday-school teacher continually renders it. Surely, no movement which would be a power to-day, for the spread of Christ’s kingdom of truth in the midst of a sinful world, can afford to be coy about using the phraseology, or the practical methods, of those who live only within the narrow fence-line of their provincial surroundings, and yet who do their work faithfully and well. Did Christ die for us? *Is there such a thing as an Atonement?* Are we saved by Jesus Christ?

We must learn to say *yes* or *no* fairly and decidedly to these questions, without hemming and hawing; without this continual tendency to declare, before we give any decided opinion of the matter, that there is a great deal to be said upon *both sides*. We must *hold and teach* some doctrine of the Atonement, if we would not wither away as a fair but fragile flower of thought, preserved among the pressed leaves and grasses of by-gone sects.

If it is not Bishop Magee, it can be McLeod Campbell ; if it is not the theory of Simeon, nor yet the theory of Robertson, it may be something definite within the wide doctrinal space between these two given points. But if redemption by Christ means any thing to us, — and it can never truly mean any thing until it means every thing, — then we must teach it and preach it, and keep it at the head of the Christian host, if, like the astonished Constantine at the Fulvian bridge, we wish to change the face of the world, and by it conquer.

4. Anthropology must receive, too, its definite method of teaching. We must know whether there is such a thing as a Fall, and what is meant by it. We must be prepared to teach one way or the other, — either that sin is guilt, or else only a blunder ; or perhaps both, since a tumble down the stairs helps a child to go up again understandingly. Luther said that man's three stages of development were *nature, grace, and glory*. There is to-day a strange analogy in many ways between the processes of science and those of religion, — as seen in the doctrines of election and the origin of the soul, and the survival of the fittest.

Is the Fall to be regarded as a fall upstairs or downstairs ? and have we come to our nature's best, in the evolution-like way in which the modern horse has come from the Orohippus and Hipparion ?¹

5. Then there is the fifth category of theology, — the doctrines concerning the Church proper, its institutional life and origin, its methods of development and increase, and

¹ See Professor Huxley's lecture on "Evidences of Evolution," at Chickering Hall, New York, Oct. 22, 1876, — "New York Tribune" Extra, No. 36.

all that is included in the world of ecclesiology, of which we shall speak presently.

6. And last of all comes the question of futurity, — eschatology, — with its belief in the life everlasting, its doctrine of heaven and of hell. What is heaven? what is hell? what is paradise? what is the intermediate state? what is the day of judgment? what is our Lord's second coming? what is the instinct for prayers for the dead? what is the germ meaning of the Romish belief in purgatory? what the philosophy of Swedenborg's theory of the rising and falling heavens and hells? All these old subjects are being unearthed by the strong and driving ploughshare of present investigation. What shall the seed be that the coming teachers will plant in these vacant furrows?

How, then, can any growing school afford to risk the leadership of Christian thought, by hurling an interrogation mark after any or all of these fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and leaving it to the jumble of chaos to bring light and order out of all this confusion?

True, the man who rejoices in his breadth may take pride in the thought that he has reduced the basis of the Church's dogmatic teaching; but still upon him rests, after all, the moral responsibility of making firm, and positive, and compact that which remains to be taught and to be believed. And over against his own philosophical explanations of Christian doctrines is set the vast bulk of humanity, who believe only the popular gospel, according to Lord Bacon's *dictum*, — "Religion is for the masses, and philosophy is only for the few."

I remember once being called upon, in the absence of

a church choir, to lead a congregation in their hymns. The minister in charge asked me what I would sing. I replied, "Let us have Hamburg for one tune." "Very well," said he, "that will do." "Oh," said the organist, "but I don't like Hamburg." "That," replied the minister, "is not what I asked you. It is not a question of what *you like*; it is a question of what the *people will sing*."

And though art critics may object to popular music, and may reduce it to the term *chaos*, still if that music touches the human heart, and becomes in any way the exponent of deep, religious feeling, the matter settles itself; for the people will sing what is real to them, though a gallery full of professional organists do not like it.

And so it is here, in the matter of teaching and explaining Christian truth. It is the narrowness of artistic breadth which stands afar off, and cries, "I do not like such doctrines!" It is true, practical breadth which says, "I will never be above my work. I will not stand off, and rail and criticise; I will go in and lead, and will not willingly yield this privilege of leadership to others!"

II. I have been speaking of our duty in the matter of reforming the line of Christian truth. We now approach the second department of this subject, — the ecclesiastical world. We hear a great deal in these days about the Church. Much of this talk is utterly without meaning. It is the way the Masons and Odd Fellows and Independent Order of Red Men talk about their Lodges. It is corporation-glorying; it is the pride of ecclesiastical respectability, and is an unconscious class bias. But under this cheap

talk there is a hidden power, which I think is coming out to the light, with a new meaning in these days.

Men are seeing to-day that there is a special form of power in a willing ecclesiastical, over a forced theological, union; in which, for the sake of liberty, and to avoid doctrinal friction, the girdle is put around the form of government and the *method of work*, rather than around the *detailed minuteness of the creed*! The Church as a working organization, meeting the issues and problems of the world, and not leaving them to philanthropical coteries and humanitarian corporations, seems much stronger, much more like the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, than scholastic debating societies, such as the Council of Trent, the Synod of Dort, and the Hampton Conference.

For the sect in time outgrows the issue which gave it birth. The world creeps up, at last, to the old mooted question of controversy; and if the tide of human thought is with it, if it strikes a drift of opinion, a decided current or tendency of the times, it soon leaves the long debated problem behind it.

This was the philosophical idea underlying Dr. Ewer's much debated book, "The Failure of Protestantism." The world has got beyond mere dogmatic Protestantism against the Church of Rome. There are issues to meet now, in other directions, which require positive assertion, not negative protesting.

The strife which gave us Calvinism; and the reaction of Channing, which brought into full flower New England Unitarianism; even the special pleading of Universalism, which in its *argumentum ad hominem* dogmatically affirms

that mankind is doomed to be saved, and that quickly, whether fit for heaven or not ; the doctrine of election, the literal interpretation of New Testament prophecy, and perfection, — must expect ere long to have Hezekiah's label of Nehushtan, "It is nothing," fastened upon them ; for the dust of the mentally swept world is already beginning to settle on them, — and when the dust gathers, we know that the doctrines are let alone, and are not handled any more.

It ought to be, then, that the school which is wisely broad, should see the true power and beauty there is in the *ecclesiastical* rather than in the *theological* Church, and should be able to peer through ecclesiasticism and the dull ecclesiastic, and recognize and seize, in its true conception, the essential truth that is embedded there. Good churchmanship means, with the average mind, the harmonious working of the Church's functional life in every department. The narrowness of breadth despises this popular conception, and now and then is tempted to put on the latest air brakes, in order to convince the passengers what an imperfect conveyance the traditional train is. Here, then, it seems to me, there is danger, in trifling with the popular ideal, and risking the forfeiture of wise and practical and comprehensive leadership.

III. Then, after dogmatic truth and the Church's practical life, comes the third department, where a wise breadth should extend its influence to the exclusion of a narrow breadth, — the social world. Here is a mixed borderland, over which the shadows of sin and the influences of truth and goodness alternately mingle. It is a land where the

influence of the Christian Church ought, conspicuously, to manifest itself.

For instance, there is a written law in a certain religious community, which denounces in unmeasured terms the sins of horse-racing and theatre-going. Fast horses and the drama are put into the syllabus of anathema, on the ground that they are unrighteous, and that all unrighteousness is sin. I have heard this action denounced as narrow and puritanical. But why smile at it? Surely it is a radical and a Christian cure. If there is nothing offered to take its place, if the genius of breadth is powerless to draw the line between sin and holiness, — why, then, the genius of narrowness must do the work. And thus it is with the temperance movement; with incipient communism; with free love and Oneida communities; with obscene literature; with societies for the suppression of vice, and a horrible underground world of social sins.

In meeting such questions as these, there are at present two lines of development left open to the religious and social reformer. The one is the method of Individualism, with its strong and its weak sides; the other is the method of Institutionalism, with its understood and misunderstood capabilities.

The Church as the flowering expression of the individual's subjective experience, and the Church as the aggregate working of average common-sense and ability, managed and controlled by lawful authority and headship, contend to-day for precedence, in carrying on those social reforms which press home upon our every-day Christian consciousness.

Let us leave the subject here. There are undoubted indications that the present is a slowly settling epoch of transition, from the fixity of the past doctrinal and ethical and social statements, to a *newer* and a *wider* and a more *positive* one. The field is still the world. But the world's shadows must flee away, before the advancing light of Him who is calling the earth, from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof.

The leadership of the Christian Church is with any formative school which, in holding the present, preoccupies the future with its present germs of thought. But whenever the front line wavers and is broken, whenever it is powerless to handle the difficulties it meets on its march, some more rugged power will surely take its place; and when the combat deepens, and the brave as ever rush in, God himself, the great Householder of all truth, will call to the front again, as He has always done in the past, a new race of prophets of good things which are ever to come.

We have had the seed of past religious movements; to-day we inhabit the body of what was once only a germ, — for God giveth to every tendency, as to every seed, its own body, as it hath pleased Him. What shall the coming seed be?

XII.

ORIGINAL SIN.

FROM an expedition made "through the dark continents" of theology, it has been my good luck to return unharmed to the every-day duties of life, bringing back with me some of the spoils of the journey. I have put these fauna and flora into a systematic shape, though, from the quantity of extracts made, I can claim little else for myself than the office of the frail thread which holds the stems of the cut flowers together. To come back to the opening illustration, I would say that the point of departure into the "wilderness of sin," the "Zanzibar" base from which the start was made, has been the Ninth Article of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Episcopal Church.

With these few words as an introduction, let us enter upon the subject before us,—the meaning of that term which stands at the head of all anthropology, "Original Sin." This, as the Ninth Article of the Church declares, is the "fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil."

That man is a sinner, is the lesson of all human history, of daily observation, and of every man's conscience.

Euripides, Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Cicero, and Socrates, among the heathen philosophers, make strong admissions in regard to the moral imperfection and native depravity of man. Ovid, in his "*Metamorphoses*," says, "*Video melior proboque, deteriora sequor*,"—a passage singularly like St. Paul's complaint, "What I would I do not; but what I hate, that I do. The good that I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do." To account for this universal fact, these philosophers traced the origin of sin in the body to what they considered the essentially evil nature of matter. The early Gnostic heretics did the same; while the Manicheans, like the Marcionites before them, held that man's actions were influenced by the stars. But the great battle was waged during the Pelagian controversy. This decided truth and error; and all later disputes upon the doctrine of Original Sin have been but reproductions in some form or other of Augustinianism, or Pelagianism, or the compromising mean of semi-Pelagianism. The doctrines charged against Cœlestius, the companion of Pelagius, at the Council of Carthage were, "That Adam was created mortal, and would have died whether he had sinned or not; that the sin of Adam hurt only himself; that infants new-born are in the same state Adam was before his fall; that a man may be without sin, and keep God's commandments if he will."

The schoolmen in the Middle Ages, for the most part, seem to have considered original righteousness as something superadded to the original nature of man,—as "an ornament upon a maiden's hair" is not a part of herself.

Original sin was, therefore, the loss or privation of original righteousness. The body, they held, was infected by the Fall, but the soul suffered only because deprived of that which Adam possessed, — the presence of God and supernatural righteousness, — and as having *the imputation of sin* derived from Adam. This was the germ of the Roman hypothesis of the “*donum supernaturale*,” brought forward at the Council of Trent; where it was further decreed, “(1) That Adam, by transgressing, lost holiness and justice, and was infected both in soul and body; (2) That by the grace of baptism the guilt of original sin is remitted, and that all is removed which hath the true and proper nature of sin; (3) The tenet of the ‘*donum supernaturale*’ was established; (4) That apostasy involves the loss of a supernatural, but not of a natural, gift; (5) That concupiscence, or the infection of original sin remaining in the regenerate, is not truly and properly sin.” Such was the Tridentine theory of original sin.

The three commonly accepted hypotheses with regard to the origin of the soul have been allied to the doctrine of Original Sin, and have been used, in part, as a solution of that problem. Thus, Justin Martyr and the great Origen, believing in the Pythagorean hypothesis of a pre-existent state, referred original sin to sin committed in that state. In the words of Dr. Shedd, “In the Middle Ages the theory of Creationism prevailed, and Traducianism fell into disrepute with the schoolmen for two reasons; first, because they regarded it as conflicting with the doctrine of the soul’s immortality, and as materializing in its influence; secondly, because, rejecting as most of them did the anthropology of

Augustine and adopting the Greek anthropology, they had less motive than Augustine had for favoring the theory of the soul's traduction." At the time of the Reformation, Traducianism went hand in hand with the revival of the doctrines of Grace, and with the spread of Augustine's anthropology, — though Calvin and Melancthon on the Continent, and Bishop Hooper in England, still held to the mediæval theory of Creationism.

The point upon which the Lutherans differed most materially from the decisions of the Council of Trent, was in maintaining that concupiscence had the nature of sin, and that the infection, though not the imputation, of sin remained in the baptized and regenerate. This is shown in the Second Article of the Augsburg Confession, from which the Ninth Article of the Church of England was derived.

I do not wish to plunge into the depths of the Calvinistic and Arminian controversy, nor to explore the Socinian objections to the fundamental doctrine of Original Sin. Suffice it hastily to skim over the points upon which the Arminians differ from the Calvinists with regard to this doctrine, — first noticing the distinction between the supralapsarian and the sublapsarian hypotheses in the Calvinistic system ; the first holding that God decreed that Adam should fall, the second holding that Adam sinned of his own free will. Supralapsarianism is the Calvinistic theory pushed to its farthest logical extremity ; "sublapsarianism is philosophically lame, for if the divine decrees be eternal and universal, to suppose any thing omitted from God's predestination is as absurd as to suppose any thing over-

looked in His omniscience." Dr. Shedd thus succinctly states the opposition of the Arminians to the Calvinistic theory: "(1) The Arminians assert that *original sin* is not *guilt*, and that a decree of reprobation to eternal punishment could not be founded upon it. (2) That original sin does not include a sinful inclination of the *will*; it is an *inherited corruption*, whose seat is the physical and intellectual parts, but not the voluntary. (3) That, by reason of original sin, man is unable of himself to be morally perfect and holy; but inasmuch as the inherited corruption, which is the cause of this inability, is involuntary, the inability is a *misfortune and not a fault*. (4) That Adam's act of apostasy was *purely individual*, and therefore cannot be imputed to his posterity as guilt. (5) That the will of man, though not competent perfectly to obey the law of God without the assisting influence of the Holy Spirit, is competent to co-operate with that assistance; and (6) That the influence of the Holy Spirit is granted, upon condition that the human will concurs and co-works." Consequently, *election* is conditional upon the foreseen faith and good works of the elect.

Thus the battles fought out in the fifth century upon the doctrines of man's helplessness, original sin, and the freedom of the will, with the compromising views of such semi-Pelagian theologians as Cassianus of Marseilles in the Western Church, and Theodore of Mopsuestia in the Eastern, have all been fought over again by schoolmen in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, and by Papal councils and warring reformers in the fifteenth century.

Not to linger upon the history of the development of

this doctrine, as that is not our subject, let us see in what original sin consists, as described by our Article, and the Scripture proofs of this doctrine.

Original sin is not imputed to us, either (according to Augustine) because we were actually with Adam when he sinned, or because he was in any sense our representative or federal head, or because God saw that each man would have committed Adam's sin if placed in his position. It is through the propagation of a sinful and fallen nature, whereby a moral disorder affecting the entire man, physical and intellectual as well as moral, is produced, that original sin or inherent depravity belongs by nature to each one of us. "Original sin consists in a loss of the true centre of man's moral being; and is total in the sense of pervading the whole man, and universal in the sense of involving all mankind from their very birth. It consists, then, negatively in alienation from God; and positively in a consequent prevailing tendency or bias to evil." As stated by the Ninth Article, there are five points connected with this doctrine: (1) Original sin is universal; (2) It is propagated; (3) Its degree is given — man is very far gone, "*quam longissime*," from original righteousness; (4) It deserves God's condemnation; and (5) Its infection remains in the regenerate, and concupiscence has the nature of sin. There is in this Article no ground for the doctrine of the imputation of Adam's sin to his descendants, as a counter doctrine for that of the imputation of Christ's righteousness to believers. On this point Bishop Browne remarks: "Calvin himself seems rather to have held that all men were liable to condemnation, because of their own

sinfulness *derived from* Adam, not because of the imputation of Adam's sin."

Our next step is to inquire into the Scriptural account of the Fall, which did not, according to Milton, bring "death into the world," since in the pre-Adamite age there were

"Dragons of the prime
That tare each other in their slime,"

but which brought "all our woe, with loss of Eden."

There are four theories of the Fall of Man. The first is the *allegorical*, which many have thought difficult to suppose, since an allegory would not be inserted in the midst of Scripture fact, without any mark, or sign, or intimation. The second is the *mythical*, which is adopted by modern rationalists; but this interpretation is exposed to the same objections as the former, and is of the nature of a pious fraud. The third is the *literal* and *physical* interpretation, which is that the tree of knowledge was a poisonous tree, and that "the consequence of man's partaking of it was physical disorder, disease, and death, with an indirect action, through the nervous system and sensuous nature, upon the intellect and moral character." This is the view of Whately and Knapp. The fourth is the interpretation which is literal as to fact, but with a *moral* or *symbolical* signification, which was adopted by most of the early Fathers and reformers, and by Orthodox teachers.

This last theory conducts us to the explanation of original sin already given; namely, that of the propagation of a sinful and fallen nature. Of this there are two views: "(1) Of the physical disorder of the body communicating

its corrupting influence to the soul ; and (2) a moral disorder primarily, but ultimately involving the whole man, interpreting the flesh in the broad sense of opposition to the spirit." This latter is the one we have touched upon before, and corresponds best with Biblical teaching.

Original sin, then, is the fault and corruption of our nature, the diseased condition of the being of man ; it is the speck of dust in the eye, which prevents that organ from accomplishing its proper work, though the eye does not on that account cease to be an eye ; it is the grain of sand in the watch, which prevents its harmonious action, and clogs and interferes with its movement. It is the *functional* system of man — body, mind, and spirit — which is wrong ; not the *organic*, for man does not cease to be man, and become transformed into beast or devil. We may speculate as we please upon the origin of this fallen nature, or, as the central avenue to which all these by-ways lead, upon the origin of evil, upon where, when, and how evil came into being, or became the deprivation of good, if a negative is preferred to a positive statement. We may make God the author of it, as Florinus did in one age. We may say that whatever God permits is right, and that, however He may treat us, He will be just, — as Abelard held in mediæval times. We may say with Alexander Pope, that "all partial evil is universal good," and thus join in the chorus which his deistical followers sang in the "Essay on Man," to the tune that "Whatever is, is right."

Whatever view we take, whether we admit the fact and then throw it into a miscellaneous collection of unlabelled, undefined curiosities, as Strauss has done ; or, admitting the

fact of sin, call it by a new name, and dress it up in a novel rig, and call it "misdirection," as Theodore Parker has done, — fairly, honestly, and logically, we are thrown back upon the theory of the propagation of man's fallen nature, as the only solution of this mystery. Bushnell writes as follows :—

"The genus humanity is still a single genus, comprehending the races ; and we know from geology that they had a begun existence. That they also sinned at the beginning is as clear, from the considerations already advanced, as if they had been one. Whence it follows that descendants of the sinning pairs or pair, born of natures thrown out of harmony and corrupted by sin, could not on principles of physiology, apart from Scripture teaching, be unaffected by the distempers of their parentage. They must be constitutently injured or depraved. It is not even supposable that organic natures, injured and disordered as we have seen that human bodies are by sin, should propagate their life in a progeny unmarred and perfect. If we speak of sin as action, their children may be innocent, and so far may reveal the loveliness of innocence ; still the crystalline order is broken ; the passions, tempers, appetites, are not in the proportions of harmony and reason ; the balance of original health is gone by anticipation, and a distempered action is begun, whose affinities sort with evil rather than with good. It is as if by their own sin they had just so far distempered their organization. Thus far the fruit of sin is in them. And this the Scripture in a certain, popular, comprehensive way sometimes calls sin, because it is a condition of deprivation that may well enough be taken as the root of a guilty, sinning life. They do not undertake to settle metaphysically the point where personal guilt commences, but only suit their convenience in a comprehensive term that designates the race as sinners ; passing by those speculative questions that only divert attention from the salvation provided for a world of sinners. The doctrine of physi-

ology, therefore, is the doctrine of Original Sin, and we are held to inevitable orthodoxy by it, even if the Scriptures are cast away.”¹

But even after all that can be said upon our nature as ruined by the Fall of Adam, original sin as connected with each individual of the race seems a common calamity, a universal misfortune. We still think we are to be *pitied* rather than to be *blamed*. In answer to this indefinite but universal objection, let me mention the views of three thinkers upon this subject of the relation of the sin of the depraved nature to the sin of the individual man, or how Adam's original sin becomes our original sin. I refer to Anselm, Coleridge, and Müller. To quote from Dr. Shedd :—

“The phrase ‘original sin,’ says Anselm, may direct attention by the use of the word ‘original,’ either to the origin of human nature, or to the origin of the individual man. But so far as the origin of human nature itself is concerned, this is pure and holy. Original sin, consequently, must refer only to the origin of the individual man, — either to his nearer or his more remote origin ; either to his birth from immediate ancestors, or his descent from the first human pair. For every man possesses that universal quality which is common to all men, namely, human nature ; and also that peculiar quality which distinguishes him from all other men, namely, his individuality. Hence, there is a twofold sin to be distinguished in man, — that sin which he receives in the reception of human nature, at the very first moment of his individual existence, and that which he afterwards commits as this or that particular individual. The first may be also denominated the sin of nature, — *peccatum naturale* ; yet it does not belong to the *essence* of human nature, but is only a condition or state into which the human nature has come since the creating act. Thus,

¹ Nature and the Supernatural, p. 177.

all sin, original as well as actual, is unrighteousness and guilt. But sin supposes the existence of the will, and how then can original sin be imputed to the infant, and why is the infant baptized for its remission? Three facts must be taken into account in endeavoring to solve this difficult problem: (1) The fact that there is a common human nature; (2) There is a particular individuality; and (3) The *individual* is a production from the *nature*. As merely possessing the common human nature, the infant participates in no sin, guilt, or condemnation; for abstract human nature is the pure creation of God. If the mere fact of being human were sufficient to constitute an individual man a sinner, then Adam himself would have been a sinner before his act of apostasy. Neither is the second characteristic — namely, that the infant possesses individuality — sufficient to account for his birth-sin; for this, equally with the generic nature, is a creation of God. The third fact, consequently, alone remains by which to explain the sin and guilt that belongs to every man at birth: the fact, namely, that the individual is produced out of the nature, and the nature has apostatized subsequent to its creation.”

Descent, then, or the propagation of an apostate nature, is the fact by which Anselm accounts for the existence of sin in every individual man at birth. And he considered the miraculous and anomalous birth of Christ, by which he was kept out of the line of ordinary human generation, as indicating that sin unavoidably flows down within that line. In endeavoring to impart a notion of the precise relation of that which is individual to that which is generic, he makes a distinction between the sin which the nature in Adam originates, and the sin which the individual after Adam commits, or, in technical phrase, between “original” and “actual” sin. In the case of Adam, an individual transgression resulted in a sin of nature; while, in the case

of his posterity, a sin of nature results in individual transgressions. Adam, by a single distinct transgression, introduced a corruption into that entire human nature which was in, and one with, himself. Here the individual vitiates the generic, because the generic is included in the individual. Adam's posterity, as so many distinct individualizations of this vitiated human nature, act out this corruption, each in his day and generation. Here the generic vitiates the individual. In the instance of the progenitor, the "actual" sin, or the sin of a single act, originates the original sin, or the sin of nature and disposition. In the instance of the posterity, the "original" sin, or the sin of the nature, originates the sin of single acts, or "actual" transgressions. In the first instance, the individual corrupts the nature; in the last instance, the *nature* corrupts the *individual*.¹

The views of Coleridge on this subject, of which we can make but a very condensed abstract, are to be found in his "Aids to Reflection," in a comment upon Bishop Jeremy Taylor's statement of the doctrine of Original Sin. Bishop Taylor says: "Like ships in a storm, every one hath enough to do to outride it; but when they meet, besides the evils of the storm, they find the intolerable calamity of their mutual concussion; and every ship that is ready to be oppressed with the tempest, is a worse tempest to every vessel against which it is violently dashed. So it is in mankind. Every man hath evil enough of his own, and it is hard for a man to live up to the rule of

¹ Abbreviated from Dr. Shedd's "History of Christian Doctrine," vol. ii. chap. 5.

his own reason and conscience." And then, in reply to Taylor, who uses the phraseology of the semi-Pelagians,—after a careful introduction to his subject, namely, the relation of original sin to the individual, and the responsibility of each one of us for that which is our *sin* and not our *misfortune* merely,—he says: "The word *original* or *originant* is not applicable, and, without abuse of language, can never be applied to a mere link in a chain of effects, where each, indeed, stands in the relation of a cause to those that follow, but is at the same time the effect of all that precede. For in these cases, a cause amounts to little more than an antecedent. At the utmost, it means only a conductor of the causative influence; and the old axiom, *causa causæ*, *causa causati*, applies with a never-ending regress to each several link, along the whole chain of Nature. But this is Nature; and no natural thing or act can be called originant, or be truly said to have an origin in any other. The moment we assume an origin in Nature, a true beginning, an actual first, that moment we rise above Nature, and are compelled to assume a supernatural power, (Gen. i. 1.) . . . In this sense of the word 'original,' and in the sense before given of sin, it is evident that the phrase 'original sin' is a pleonasm, the epithet not adding to the thought, but only enforcing it. For if it be sin, it must be original; and a state or act that has not its origin in the will, may be calamity, deformity, disease, or mischief, but a sin it cannot be." He then proceeds: "It is not enough that the act appears voluntary, or that it is intentional, or that it has the most hateful passions or debasing appetites for its proximate cause and accompa-

niment. All these may be found in a mad-house, where neither law nor humanity permit us to condemn the actor of sin. The reason of law declares the maniac not a free agent, and the verdict follows of course, 'Not guilty.' The maniac, it is well known, is often found clever and inventive in the selection and adaptation of means to his ends; but his ends are madness. He has lost his reason. For though reason in finite beings is not the will,—or how could the will be opposed to reason?—yet it is the condition, the *sine qua non* of a free will. . . . Sin is evil having an origin; but inasmuch as it is evil, in God it cannot originate; and yet in some spirit—that is, in some supernatural power—it must; for in Nature there is no origin. Sin, therefore, is spiritual evil; but the spiritual in man is the will. Now, when we do not refer to any particular sins, but to that state and constitution of the will which is the ground, condition, and common cause of all sins, we may, with no less propriety than force, entitle this dire spiritual evil and source of all evil, which is absolutely such, original sin. I have said, 'the corrupt nature of the will.' I might add, that the admission of a nature into a spiritual essence by its own act of corruption."

He then reviews at length Bishop Taylor's position, showing that, according to his statement of the fact, original sin is nothing less than the "universal calamity" of human nature; and attacks his citation of the case of the hanging of Saul's children,—who were all equally innocent, but who were sacrificed to a point of State expediency,—as a similar one to the posterity of Adam, and God's dealings with them. "Because Jonathan was David's friend, his

son Mephibosheth was spared; and because Michal had treated him unhandsomely, her sons, simply because they were in the line of Saul, were put to death. Thus evil fell upon the sons of Michal which would never have befallen them, had their mother been kind to David; and Jonathan's son was spared, not because of any intrinsic merit of his own, but because of his father's friendship for David. Adam was to God as Michal to David." To the question, On what principles of equity were the innocent offspring of Adam punished at all? he answers: "God on Adam's account was so exasperated with mankind, that, being angry, He would still continue the punishment." Coleridge then contrasts the Scriptural article respecting original sin, or the corrupt and sinful nature of the human will; first showing that this is not a new tenet introduced and imposed upon us by Christianity, but that the Brahminical, Scandinavian, and Grecian mythologies,—the last with its wonderful fable of Prometheus, with the characters of the rebellious spirit and of the divine friend of mankind,—all recognize the fact of a moral corruption con-natural with the human race. "In the assertion of original sin," he continues, "the Greek mythology rose and set. But not only was the fact acknowledged of a law in the nature of man resisting the law of God,—and whatever is placed in active and direct oppugnancy to the good is, *ipso facto*, positive evil,—it was likewise an acknowledged mystery, and one which, by the nature of the subject, ever must remain such,—a problem of which any other solution than the statement of the fact itself was demonstrably impossible. It follows necessarily from the postulate of a

responsible will. Refuse to grant this, and I have not a word to say. Concede this, and you concede all. For this is the essential attribute of a will, and contained in the very idea, that whatever determines the will, acquires this power from a previous determination of the will itself. The will is ultimately self-determined, or it is no longer a will under the law of perfect freedom, but a nature under the mechanism of cause and effect. And if by an act, to which it had determined itself, it has subjected itself to the determination of nature, — in the language of St. Paul, ‘to the law of the flesh,’ — it receives a nature into itself, and so far it becomes a nature; and this is a corruption of the will, and a corrupt nature. It is also a fall of man, inasmuch as his will is the condition of his personality, the ground and condition of the attribute which constitutes him man. And the groundwork of personal being is a capacity of acknowledging the moral law, — the law of the spirit, the law of freedom, the divine will, — as that which should, of itself, suffice to determine the will to a free obedience of the law, the law working therein by its own exceeding lawfulness. This and this alone is positive good; good of itself and independent of all relations. Whatever resists, and, as a positive force, opposes this in the will, is therefore evil. But an evil in the will is an evil will; and, as all moral evil (that is, all that is evil without reference to its contingent physical consequences) is of the will, this evil will must have its source in the will. And thus we might go back from act to act, from evil to evil, *ad infinitum*, without advancing a step. We call an individual a bad man, not because an action is contrary to the law, but because it has

led us to conclude from it some principle opposed to the law, some private maxim or by-law in the will contrary to the universal law of right reason in the conscience, as the ground of the action. But this evil principle again must be grounded in some other principle, which has been made determinant of the will by the will's own self-determination. For if not, it must have its ground in some necessity of nature; in some instinct or propensity imposed, not acquired,—another's work, not our own. Consequently, neither act nor principle could be imputed; and, relatively to the agent, not original, not sin."

His argument he thus sums up: "Now, let the grounds on which the fact of an evil, inherent in the will, is affirmable in the instance of any one man, be supposed equally applicable in every instance, and concerning all men,—so that the fact is asserted of the individual, not because he has committed this or that crime, or because he has shown himself to be this or that man, but simply because he is a man. Let the evil be supposed such, as to imply the impossibility of an individual's referring to any particular time at which it might be conceived to have commenced, or to any period of his existence at which it was not existing. Let it be supposed, in short, that the subject stands in no relation whatever to time, can neither be called in time nor out of time; but that all relations of time are as alien and heterogeneous in this question as the relations and attributes of space (north, south, or round or square, thick or thin) are to our affections and moral feelings. Let the reader suppose this, and he will have before him the precise import of the Scriptural doc-

trine of Original Sin, or rather of the fact acknowledged in all ages, and recognized but not originating in the Christian Scriptures. A moral evil, then, is an evil that has its origin in the will. An evil common to all must have a common ground to all. Now, this evil ground cannot originate in the Divine will ; it must, therefore, be referred to the will of man. And this evil ground we call original sin. It is a mystery, — that is, a fact which we see but cannot explain ; and the doctrine a truth which we apprehend, but can neither comprehend nor communicate. And such by the quality of the subject (namely, a responsible will) it must be, if it be truth at all."

I have thus endeavored to glean from Coleridge's argument his explanation of the reality of the sinfulness of original sin, as opposed to those theories which necessitate either the abandonment of the term "sin" and the substitution of the word "calamity," or the degradation of God's character by a low anthropomorphic terminology, — as when the Almighty God and Father is represented in language fit only for a Homeric description of Olympian Jove, as being "exasperated" with the unfortunate sons of the first man Adam.

Let us now briefly review Dr. Julius Müller's hypothesis, which appears in the concluding chapters of his extensive exposition of the Christian doctrine of Sin. Let us make but one note on a peculiarity of his phraseology, and then briefly state his theory of the sinfulness of original sin. Müller speaks a great deal of "selfishhood" and "selfhood ;" by which, in the former case, he means sinful self as the centre of our being ; by selfhood, he means the proper self,

or self with a renewed will, — self plus Christ, as it were. “Had the will never rebelled against the will of God, the bodily nature, although physical and earthly (*ψυχική, χοϊκή*), would never have lost the harmony contained in its notion, but would have preserved it until the time of its glorification and exaltation to a higher sphere. . . . Man, by a divine order, which is itself a means of grace, inasmuch as it presents to him in a fallen condition the condition of his self-restoration, is introduced into the narrow path of his earthly development, and placed under the law. As, on the one hand, the pure innocence of his nature-basis — which as yet knows nothing of any disorder of the powers — makes obedience easy to him, so, on the other hand, within him a divine bias, and the impulse of conscience, allure him to subordination to the order of God. He must in any case become conscious of his own self-variance, by the vacillating struggle between contradictory powers ; but in this struggle he is able to be victorious, and, by continued exercise in humble obedience towards the command of God, gradually heal his own hurt.” He then makes the power of selfishhood, over primitive innocent selfhood, to account for Adam’s act of yielding to the serpent. His theory, greatly condensed, is the following: “The first Adam might have become to his posterity, if they had received from him a sensational nature, free from disturbance, and an example of faithful obedience toward the divine command, that, in a limited measure, which the second Adam has really become in the highest sense, — namely, the beginner of a development liberating the will from its original self-variance. But he could never become

that, without having proved in *temptation* this obedience to the Divine will, and therefore with the victory of the same over the selfish tendencies of his own will. Now, an element of temptation was already there for our first parents, in the presence of a positive law, especially inasmuch as it met them in the form of a prohibition. Certainly, the Divine prohibition, in itself, was much rather a temptation to good, an excitant to the conscious subordination of their own will to the will of God ; still, it must at the same time arouse the as yet slumbering tendency of selfhood to its emancipation from the will of God, and bring it to their consciousness, in order that it may be overcome. But as excitant to evil, as that which might urge the first parents to a self-decision of principles, the temptation could only come to them from a being in which evil was already present, and which saw, through the true nature of their sinless condition, the hidden variance between their judicial constitution and the brokenness of their will." He then argues upon the disputed question as to whether the original sin in all men — the evil innate disposition, the true inherited sin — is equal or unequal ; and brings forward his peculiarly original view of the real sin of original sin as beyond the limits of time and space.

We have seen that Justin Martyr and Origen accounted for original sin on a pre-existent theory ; namely, that we had each one of us sinned in a former period and in another world, and consequently our acts of original sin were original, — had their origin there and then. This was a theory inclusive of both the elements *time* and *space*. Coleridge's hypothesis does away with the conditions of time and

space. Humanity is looked at as a surging mass of present acting wills: there is no first or last; we are considered from the standpoint of God's eternal *now*; and in this light our wills originate our every act, both good and bad. The actual good is from the originant good, and the actual bad is from the originant bad; each set of impulses, good and bad, determining the action of the will with as much regularity and precision as the alternating valves in a hydraulic ram, or with the flashing rapidity of the valvular action of the steam-chest and the eccentric rod in a locomotive, rushing on, with its express train behind it.

But Müller's theory is different from either of these. With regard to the question of the origin of the soul, it seems to be a combination of one part Creationism, two parts Pre-existence, and three parts Traducianism. It is a sort of nebular hypothesis of the soul, which many people simply label "German Rationalism," and then put it away, back on the theological shelf, among the relics and specimens of free-thinking, where, among the other curiosities and in company with its neglected neighbors, it invites the dust of a lifetime to settle down upon it, and cover it from sight, and make it a dirty, disagreeable thing to touch. Let us, however, look at it, as the concluding theory of original sin.

In his chapter, in the second volume, on the Enhancement of Sin in the development of the Individual, he remarks: "This timeless original act, in which every human will determines itself, generates a persistent quality of constitution, a moral condition: it is that in which we all are born. At first, present only as a hidden potency, it be-

comes actual, with the awakening of the moral consciousness. Of all the sinful acts within our life in time, there can be none which possesses an equal power of forming a condition ; but they may very well in a less degree share in this determining power. The freedom is not an absurd ability of the will to burden itself with the most detestable sins, and after their commission to return back into its former indeterminateness with respect to these sins ; but the self-determining of the will becomes immediately a being determined ; the will gives itself a tendency to the sins which it once allows ; the element of lust, contained in every sin, becomes, as a motive of the will, a constant factor of the inner life, — so that, when the same excitants, by means of circumstances, return, the will, quite of itself, inclines to the same sin. Every kind of sin opens up in itself, in that it generates the passion, a fearful depth, which the sinner constantly strives by new sins to fill up ; but the ground of the same he is never able to find. . . . If this disturbing element has once entered into existence, it must then unfold its nature with a certain completeness, because only so can it be thoroughly cancelled. As the heavy vapors which, arising from the earth, fill the air, are drawn together by the powerful rays of the sun into thunder-clouds, in order that, falling as rain, they may restore to the atmosphere its purity, — so must sin obtain a definite form in the life of man, in order that it may be properly striven with, and this strife be carried on, and conducted to the goal of a vigorous decision, which shall then be perpetual ; which indeed is not possible to man left to himself, but only through the redemption of Christ.”

The opposition which Müller's hypothesis received from his fellow-theologians in Germany drew from him the following explanation: "The reduction of the *peccatum originale*, to a fall preceding in a timeless manner the temporal life of all men, has received such animated opposition, that I feel myself urged to make a few remarks definitely to denote the real state of the case. The romantic wish is foreign to me, of giving solutions of this great enigma of our existence, which involve us in new enigmas. If any one is able to furnish an easier and more self-commending explanation, — an explanation which regards man as a being existing solely in time, and within the bounds of time makes his culpability intelligible to us, — he will find me very receptive for his instructions. But the explanation must be such an one which does not lose the very thing it is said to explain. The matter here is, on the one side, the universality of sin in the human race, its being inrooted in the nature of the genus; on the other side, personal guilt and responsibility, the origin of sin from the arbitrary self-perversion of the creature, not from a necessity, — whether it be one freely ordained by the Divine Intelligence, or a necessity which is given for God himself. . . . No room should be given in these times to those opinions which dissolve the moral responsibility of man, and, indeed, more determinately of each individual man, to the speculative or unspeculative deterministic theories which make excuse for man on account of sin. The reasons from this point of view, which necessitate me to seek the origin of our genus-sin in an intelligible perversion of the free will, I have thus endeavored to exhibit. They are chiefly contained

in the above-mentioned double pair of facts, of our moral being and consciousness, which are directly contradictory of each other. Now, whatever deficiency may attach to this explanation, however little it may be able to determine every thing undetermined in that transcendent pre-supposition of our temporal existence, and to answer all questions, — I cannot give it up, so long as it is not shown that those facts may also be firmly maintained by another explanation. On the contrary, if other theories inevitably lead to the denial of those facts, I can only look upon them as indirectly confirming the attempted explanation which has here been exhibited." Müller then reviews Rothe's and Dorner's objections. Dorner finds in the natural condition of man no real guilt, no sin, which makes him damnable before God, but only preliminary sins, just for this reason, — because to him the conditions of that personal self-decision are first of all given, when one finds himself over against Christ; because, in his view, until then the individual is entirely inwoven in the race. "I, on the contrary," continues Müller, "am not able to think so insignificantly of man, even apart from redemption and his contact with it, but am obliged to consider his sin as real guilt, damnable guilt. And it is just this which necessitates me, by virtue of that axiom common to us both, to seek behind the apparent unfree inwovenness of the individual being, in the sin and guilt of the genus, a background of free self-decision. It is also to me a precious truth that, by virtue of the decree revealed in the gospel, of the Divine Love to redeem man by Jesus Christ, now no man is to perish on account of the sin of his nat-

ural condition, unless that he appropriates it to himself afresh by the rejection of the gospel of Christ. But this, indeed, cannot be interpreted to mean that there attaches to the sin of the natural condition (simply to the sin itself) no real guilt ; but it follows from the universality of the Divine will of grace, and from the universal validity of the work of redemption. These do not, indeed, cancel immediately the guilt of the old sin, but in such a cancelling man must do his part by the exercise of his appropriating of faith ; but, because they cannot be accepted, otherwise than in the most holy seriousness, they insure that this appropriation shall be made possible to every man, by the presentation of the gospel of Christ." Speaking of the problem of moral evil as the hard rock on which so many make shipwreck, he thus concludes his great work on Sin : " Religion has essentially a side in it, according to which it is theory ; but in its deepest principle it is practice, the inmost act of the spirit. And directly here, over against the evil, where it alone is able to solve the otherwise insolvable variance of our existence, is the point in which also the variance of philosophy with it must resolve itself in a sincere and during reconciliation. There is one among mankind who is absolutely free from evil, and who communicates his freedom to all who become one with him by the act of justifying faith. But still they have this faith only in him, not in themselves ; still, their being-in-him has not equally become a perfect-being-in-self ; still, their selfhood is not fully purified and sublimed : therefore every procedure of the consciousness to be one with him, is always conditioned by a new abandoning of self. It is the signifi-

cancy of Christian hope, that one day all which they have in him, they will at the same time perfectly have in themselves. Then the individual, interrupted accords, which we are here only able listeningly to catch of the divine order of the world, will unite themselves in a full symphonious chorus, in which every discord will have been absolutely overcome."

Such are the three theories which have been introduced, in order to explain the doctrine of Original Sin.

The teaching of the Article is clearly defined. Anselm's view, as so clearly explained by Dr. Shedd, is the same; namely, that of the propagation of a fallen, sinful nature. Coleridge's view is one which does away with the conditions of time and space; one in which the individual wills of the human race are looked at on a common ground, which, inasmuch as it is an *evil* as well as a *universal* ground,—since moral evil is an evil that has its origin in the will,—we call original sin. Müller's hypothesis, strange as it is, seems to be simply an attempt to explain God's dealings with man as being perfectly in harmony with our human ideas of right,—that element of our moral nature which allies us to God. But since, according to our human right and the voice of conscience, it would be manifestly wrong to damn unnumbered millions for the misfortune of being born into a world of sin, there must be substituted, as a cause of this condemnation, lying back of this life, a "*peccatum originale*," which is really and truly of the nature of personal sin.

And in truth we must ultimately adopt this view, or some such explanatory view like it; or, on the other hand, we

must adopt that of Abelard. We are thrown upon the horns of a dilemma; for, either we must have done something actually to deserve God's judgment; we must have something more, to make us objects of condemnation, than the mere misfortune of an inherited evil nature, as Müller shows, if man's moral nature is from God, and the voice of conscience is the weather-vane of right, — or else, as Abelard says, we must believe that whatever God does is right: He can invert the principles of right and wrong, and He will still be just; for, according to his *dictum*, we deserve to be damned on any hypothesis, if God declares that to be right.

Thus Müller's view seems to be an attempt to forestall human judgment, by showing that for every thing there is a cause, and thus some cause — a specific actual cause — for the culpability of original sin, lying within the range of human justice; a cause which can be scanned by the experienced eye of the theological expert.

THE END.

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